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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

OF THE

MOST REV. JOHN CARROLL.

Brent, Daniel

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

OF THE

MOST REV. JOHN CARROLL,

First Archbishop of Baltimore:

WITH

SELECT PORTIONS OF HIS WRITINGS.

EDITED BY

JOHN CARROLL BRENT.

BALTIMORE:

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ENTERED, according to the Act of Congress, in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-three, by JOHN CARROLL BRENT, in the clerk's office of the District court of Maryland.

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To

THE MOST REV. SAMUEL ECCLESTON,

THE PRESENT

Worthy Head of the Roman Catholic Church in the U. States of America,

THIS WORK IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY HIS FAITHFUL AND OBEDIENT SERVANT,

THE EDITOR.

PREFACE.

In presenting to the patronage of the public the following Biographical Sketch of the Most Rev. John Carroll, first Archbishop of Baltimore, the editor deems it proper to make a few preliminary remarks.

Having come into possession of the unfinished manuscript of the late Daniel Brent, (Consul of the United States for Paris, France,) the nephew and executor of the distinguished subject of this Memoir, the subscriber considered it an act of duty, as it has become one of love, to carry into execution the original intention of its author, thus unfortunately interrupted by his death. He is well aware of the difficulty of the task,

owing to the time that has elapsed since the demise of the Archbishop, the scattering and destruction of many of his papers, and the consequent inability, on his part, to treat the subject as fully as he would desire, and as the nature of it would demand. But, urged on by a wish to do tardy though inadequate justice to the memory of a prelate whose services in the cause of religion, and attachment to his native land, should never be forgotten, and cheered by the hope of being able to contribute his mite for the benefit of the first congregation the Archbishop established in this country, to the repairing of whose church he will devote a portion of the proceeds,—the undersigned has ventured to undertake a task which, however incomplete, may induce some one more competent to apply himself to the composition of a more detailed Biography.

It has been deemed proper, in order to afford the reader an opportunity of forming

his own estimate of the style and literary productions of Archbishop Carroll, to introduce a part of his journal in Europe, one or two of his sermons, and a few of his controversial writings and letters.

In order to insure a good engraving of the portrait of the Archbishop, the editor has secured the services of the best artists in this country; and he thinks it sufficient to mention, that it is from a faithful and creditable copy by the Messrs. Bogle, of Baltimore, of the original portrait by Stuart, now in the possession of Lloyd N. Rogers, Esq. of Druid Hill, who kindly gave the use of it for that purpose.

He finally returns his most sincere thanks to the Rev. gentlemen of Georgetown College, to whom he is indebted for much valuable information, and to those of the Roman Catholic clergy, who have evinced an interest in a work which they feel assured is for the benefit of that religion of which they

are such zealous pastors; in proof of which, he adds the approbation of the Most Rev. Samuel Eccleston, the present Archbishop of Baltimore, and a copy of a letter from the Very Rev. William Matthews, rector of St. Patrick's church, in this city.

JOHN CARROLL BRENT.

WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., *December*, 1842.

"The Sketch of Archbishop Carroll's Life, written by the late Daniel Brent, Esq., will, in the absence of a more extended Biography, be read with interest and edification."

† SAMUEL, *Archbishop of Baltimore.*

JOHN CARROLL BRENT, Esq.

Dear Sir: I have attentively perused your very interesting memoir of the Most Rev. Archbishop Carroll, and from my intimate acquaintance with him, know it to be correct. The Catholic community in parts of the United States have long and anxiously expected this highly important work, and will hail with great satisfaction its forthcoming.

Your humble servant,

(Signed) W. MATTHEWS.

WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., *January* 19, 1842.

ERRATA.

The following errors have escaped the notice of the editor, owing to his being at a distance from the city during the course of publication.

For "of," in 11th line of 21st page, read "from."

Before "done," in 10th line of 106th page, read "had."

For "was," in 14th line of 118th page, read "were."

For "Deux Ponts," in 8th line of 256th page, read "Newbourg."

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

OF THE

MOST REV. JOHN CARROLL.

DANIEL CARROLL, the father of the subject of this biography, belonged to a Roman Catholic family of high respectability in Ireland, which had forfeited its property to the crown on account of its religion.

At a very early period of his life this gentleman migrated to the then colony of Maryland, to seek his fortune, or rather to procure the means of living, and with the hope of experiencing by the change some relief from the multiplied privations under which the Catholics of Ireland were at that time suffering. He settled at Upper Marlbro' on the Patuxent, where he established himself as a merchant, and under the guidance of a sound and excellent judgment, by steady industry, unshaken probity, and scrupulous punctuality in his dealings, acquired a competent estate

before his death, always conciliating to himself in a high degree, the esteem and consideration of all who knew him.

Within a few years after his settlement at Marlbro', Mr. Carroll married Eleanor, daughter of Henry Darnall, esquire, a Roman Catholic gentleman of the neighborhood, who had inherited the family seat of the Woodyard and adjoining lands to an immense extent;—but which were then partly, and afterwards entirely, alienated from his family, through the improvident management and easy disposition of the proprietor.

By this union, however, Mr. Carroll acquired a treasure far beyond the value that mere riches could confer. In his young wife were blended all the qualities calculated to render the conjugal state delightful. With an excellent and discriminating mind were united in the character of this lady the best accomplishments that a finished education, assisted by a natural graciousness of temper, could impart;—her father having at a very early period of her life placed her in a select school in France, where she continued with correspondent advantage till she had completed her education, when she returned to Maryland.

In all the domestic and social relations of life, the virtues of this lady shone forth with peculiar lustre, exhibiting her in the various characters of daughter, sister, wife, mother, and friend, in the most amiable and edifying lights; a spirit of genuine and unostentatious piety incessantly co-operating with, and aiding, the native benevolence of her heart, in the exercise of all the charities and offices growing out of her station in society.

Many years afterwards, having lived to see her son, who had closely imitated the virtues, and profited by the lessons and examples of his parents, elevated by the Holy See to the highest dignity of the Church in this country, she closed her eyes in peace, at an age, but seldom attained by man. In a letter of May 23, 1796, to his intimate friend, the Rev. Charles Plowden, the Bishop thus announces the loss he had recently encountered: "I likewise have to tell mine to you—my good and venerable mother closed her long, and I may add, her holy life, on the 3d of February, in the full possession of her intellectual faculties, till she ceased to speak an hour or two before her death. She was in the 93d year of her age."

The following anecdote, showing the cause and motives of the first emigration of the Carroll family to this country, was related by the late venerable and illustrious Charles Carroll of Carrollton:

"It is stated that one of his ancestors was secretary to lord Powis, a leading minister of James II. Remarking to his lordship one day, that he was happy to find that public affairs and his majesty's service were proceeding so prosperously, the secretary received for answer 'You are quite in the wrong, affairs are going on very badly; the king is very ill advised.' After pausing a few minutes his lordship thus addressed Mr. Carroll: 'Young man, I have a regard for you, and would be glad to do you a service—take my advice; great changes are at hand: go out to Maryland—I will speak to lord Baltimore in your favor.' He did so, obtained some government situation with considerable grants of land, and left his family among the largest proprietors of the Union."

John, the subject of this biography, and the third son of Daniel and Eleanor Carroll, was born at Upper Marlbro' on the 8th of January, in the year 1735.

We have no traces of his boyish days, except in traditionary accounts of a promising development of genius, and uncommon docility of manners and disposition.

At the very early age of twelve years he was sent to a grammar school at Bohemia, in Maryland, from which he was soon afterwards transferred to the college of St. Omer, in French Flanders, under the exclusive direction of the Jesuits. In this school, so justly celebrated for the learning of its professors, and for the indefatigable care and assiduity with which they cultivated the minds of their pupils, our young American became conspicuous for capacity of mind, attention to his studies, and the docility and kindness of his character.

After having gone through the usual course of a collegiate education, with eminent advantage and distinction, during the six years he passed within the walls of this institution, he was advanced to the study of the higher branches of science and literature in a college at Liege, under the direction of members of the same society. Here he perfected himself in these studies, and it was in this school that he formed the resolution of going through an

ecclesiastical course, with a view to the priesthood, and to the devoting of himself to the service of the Church.

After having, in consequence, passed through the novitiate, he was ordained priest in 1769, became a professed father in 1771, renouncing beforehand, in favor of his brother, Daniel Carroll, esquire, (who died in 1796, and was well known throughout the revolutionary war, and since the adoption of the federal constitution, as a member of the highest councils of this nation,) and of his two youngest sisters, the estate which had been bequeathed to him by his father, who died some years before.

The following sketch of this eminent and useful statesman, will, it is deemed, be not out of place here, as connected in an intimate degree with the subject of our memoir:

Daniel Carroll, the brother of the subject of this sketch, was born at Upper Marlbro' in the State of Maryland, on the 22d July, 1730.

The excellent attainments and talents of Mr. Carroll did not fail to recommend him to the favorable notice of his countrymen, as soon as the shackles were removed, which

had been placed upon the Roman Catholics of his native state, by the hand of bigotry and intolerance, and they were admitted to a free participation of the political distinctions and emoluments of office, and placed in all other respects upon an equal footing with the members of other christian denominations.

He was accordingly elected a member of the first senate under the constitution of Maryland, immediately after the formation and establishment of that constitution, and thenceforward was almost constantly and uninterruptedly employed in the public service till a few years before his death—as a member of the senate or executive council of Maryland;—one of the delegates in the old congress, or as one of the members of that state in the House of Representatives in the first congress under the present constitution of the United States. He had been likewise one of the delegates of the same state in the federal convention of 1787, which framed that constitution.

In all these situations he was eminently distinguished by patriotic zeal, solidity and discrimination of judgment, the prudence and wisdom of his counsels, as well as by an en-

tire exemption from all taint of selfishness, in reference to the popular favor. To his efforts in congress, as much as to those of any other member, may justly be ascribed the location of the permanent seat of the general government at Washington, and at the expiration of his term of service in that congress, the first under the present constitution, he was associated by president Washington in a commission with the late governor Johnson of Maryland, and Dr. David Stewart, of Virginia, for carrying the plan of that location into effect. From his advanced age and growing infirmities he resigned this appointment in a few years, and shortly afterwards his mortal career was closed in death. He died in May, 1796, in the 66th year of his age.

According to the usage and discipline of the Jesuits, of whose society he had so recently become a member, the subject of this memoir was sent back to the college of St. Omer, to conduct a professorship in that school. After remaining a short time at St. Omer, he returned to Liege where he directed the studies of the higher classics; and it was at the period when he was thus employ-

ed, in 1773, that the order for the suppression of the Society of Jesus was carried into execution, by the expulsion of its members, the dispersion of the pupils and the shutting up of the college: that of St. Omer and all others under the government of the Jesuits within the dominions of France,—simultaneously sharing the same fate.

On this occasion our young ecclesiastic wrote an able and eloquent vindication of the Society of the charges unjustly brought against it by its enemies. It is a subject of deep regret that a principal part of this masterly performance is lost, otherwise it should be embodied in this sketch, as well to exhibit a brilliant specimen of the genius and erudition of the ex-Jesuit, as to remove some portion of the obloquy which it is so common to heap upon that celebrated society. It was not deemed safe at the time to print it; but there is reason to believe that it was translated into different languages, and the manuscript copies greatly multiplied;—that it was extensively used, and produced some small relaxation in the execution of the rigorous orders for the suppression of the society and the expulsion of its members, so far at least

as related to the colleges of St. Omer and Liege.

The following extract is a brief summary of the causes to which he ascribes the suppression—"These apostolic men, eternal foes to vice, whether it appeared in palaces or hovels, under regal robes or squalid rags, could never be prevailed on to come to terms with the wicked and compromise the cause of their divine Master. Hence lascivious and irreligious courtiers leagued together, perverted the minds of weak and improvident monarchs, and formed the abolition combination."

For further elucidation of the same subject, we shall add to the above extract the copy of a paper of more modern date in his own hand writing, found amongst his papers, containing a concise account of the means resorted to by the Court of Spain to accomplish the suppression of the Society of Jesuits in the dominions of Austria and France.

"The Pope always answered the solicitations of the Bourbon ministers, that the House of Austria was opposed to the extinction—Count Matroni, ambassador from Spain at Vienna, having concerted his ma-

nœuvre with Prince Kaunitz, (whose character is that of a professed and open Deist,) went into the empress queen's cabinet, (he was much in the empress' favor,) when she asked him, as usual, concerning the health of the king of Spain—Matroni answered that he was well, but, from his great regard for her majesty, much affected at her misunderstanding with the Holy See. She was startled at this,—declared herself an obedient daughter of the Church, and assured him that there was no misunderstanding, and asked him what he meant—Matroni then told her that the Pope wished to destroy the Jesuits, but was deterred by her declaring that she would oppose and resist the Pope, should he attempt it. She declared that she had never said so, and that she would in that, as in every thing else, obey the decrees of the Holy See. Matroni having brought matters to this issue, asked her majesty if he might communicate this to his Court.—She consented. But, says he, madam, the king is so much impressed with contrary advices, that he will give no credit to my despatches, unless your majesty will order your minister to give me an official letter to the same pur-

port. Go, said she, to Kaunitz, and tell him to give it you. Kaunitz was called, the letter given, and Matroni immediately sent an express to Madrid. From Madrid the original official letter of Kaunitz was sent to Rome, laid before the Pope, and removed his last subterfuge." Father Hussey says he read this in Count Matroni's despatches, and a subsequent one to and from Rome.

"In consequence, the brief of dissolution was got ready, and sent to France.—D'Arguillon, the minister of France and creature of Spain, carried it to Louis XV., who, in the midst of libertinism, respected religion. He declared the brief should not be published, and ordered D'Arguillon to send an express to Rome, that moment, to prevent its being issued—D'Arguillon remonstrated, but all in vain. He left the king and sent in madame de Barri.—She found the king agitated, began with asking the cause, reproached him for abandoning the House of Bourbon, coaxed and cajoled him, and in fifteen minutes got the order recalled for sending away the express." Father Hussey says he read this detail in Count Aranda's despatches. Aranda was the Spanish ambassador.

Upon the subject of the final suppression of the Society of Jesus, Mr. Carroll thus writes to his brother, Daniel Carroll, Esq., under date of Bruges, September 11, 1773:

"I this day received a few lines from Daniel, of July 15, in which he complains with much reason of my long silence. My mind is at present too full of other things to make any apology. After spending part of the autumn of 1772 at Naples, and its environs, we returned to pass the winter at Rome, where I stayed till near the end of March, from thence came to Florence, Genoa, Tunis, Lyons, Paris, and so to Liege and Bruges. I was willing to accept of the vacant post of prefect of the sodality here, after consigning Mr. Stourton into his father's hands about two months ago, that I might enjoy some retirement, and consider well in the presence of God the disposition I found myself in of going to join my relatives in Maryland, and in case that disposition continued, to get out next spring. But now all room for deliberation seems to be over. The enemies of the society, and above all the unrelenting perseverance of the Spanish and Portuguese Ministries, with the passiveness

of the court of Vienna, has at length obtained their ends: and our so long persecuted, and I must add, holy society is no more. God's holy will be done, and may his name be blessed forever and ever! This fatal stroke was struck on the 21st of July, but was kept secret at Rome till the 16th of August, and was only made known to us on the 5th of September. I am not, and perhaps never shall be, recovered from the shock of this dreadful intelligence. The greatest blessing which in my estimation I could receive from God, would be immediate death: but if he deny me this, may his holy and adorable designs on me be wholly fulfilled. Is it possible that Divine Providence should permit to such an end, a body wholly devoted, and I will still aver, with the most disinterested charity, in procuring every comfort and advantage to their neighbors, whether by preaching, teaching, catechizing, missions, visiting hospitals, prisons, and every other function of spiritual and corporal mercy? Such I have beheld it in every part of my travels, the first of all ecclesiastical bodies in the esteem and confidence of the faithful, and certainly the most laborious. What will

become of our flourishing congregations with you, and those cultivated by the German fathers? These reflections crowd so fast upon me that I almost lose my senses. But I will endeavor to suppress them for a few moments. You see that I am now my own master, and left to my own direction. In returning to Maryland I shall have the comfort of not only being with you, but of being farther out of the reach of scandal and defamation, and removed from the scenes of distress of many of my dearest friends, whom God knows, I shall not be able to relieve. I shall therefore most certainly sail for Maryland early next spring, if I possibly can."

Speaking of his apprehensions of a fatal combination against the society of which he was so zealous and attached a member, he makes the following remarks in another letter from Bruges to his brother:

"Before you receive this letter you will have heard of the Pope's death: in human appearance, nothing could have happened more unfortunate to us, especially in the critical moment when an answer was to have been given to the memorials of three united

courts of the family compact, France, Spain, and Naples, requiring the immediate dissolution of the society. His Holiness had himself minuted the heads of the answer he intended to make in a few days, and had delivered it to his ministers to be put into the due form. The substance of it was, that no worldly consideration, no loss of temporalities, should ever force him into any measure which he could not justify to his own conscience: that the more he saw and knew of the Jesuits, the more he was convinced of their eminent services to religion, and of the falsehood of the imputations charged upon them: that he could not therefore acquiesce in the proposal made him by the allied courts. The answer entered into a much larger detail than I here mention, and would have been a glorious testimony of his Holiness' esteem and affection for the society. How matters will go on in the conclave, and after the election of the new Pope, Heaven knows. Humanly speaking, we have every thing to dread from the combination formed against us: yet when I reflect on the atrocious falsehoods, injustices, cruelties, and mean artifices employed against us, I greatly confide

that God's providence will not permit our dissolution to be effected by such wicked means. I know his kingdom is not of this world, and that they who seek to do his divine will, and promote his glory, are not to expect a visible interposition in their favor on every occasion, or to receive in this life an apparent testimony of innocence and divine approbation."

In another letter to the same gentleman, he speaks of the intrigues at the court of France, against the Jesuits, and which were crowned with success, soon after the date thereof, in 1764, by their expulsion from that kingdom, in the following eloquent and touching terms:

"The death of the famous Marchioness de Pompadour, will, it is generally believed by our French brethren, occasion some great change in their circumstances; so far is certain, that they are delivered by this event from their greatest enemy, I mean the most powerful one, and who, by her interest and influence over the king of France, could more easily than any one else, prevail upon him to view tamely the proceedings against the Jesuits, which she underhandedly encouraged

by all the arts, which cunning and power could put into her hands. The Jesuits ground their hopes upon the declared attachment of all the royal family to their interests, upon the intimate connection and intelligence subsisting between the king and his queen and children, since the great lady's death, upon the zealous intercessions of the bishops, all the prime nobility, and every order of magistrates in the different cities and towns where the Jesuits were heretofore established. If we add to this the general discontent that has ensued upon the appointment and conduct both in morals and literary pursuits of the newly installed masters for the education of youth, we cannot absolutely pronounce these hopes to have an object merely chimerical: but I will own to you that the irresolute behaviour which has appeared so much in the French government, on many late occasions, makes me apprehend that vigor will be wanting to bring about so desirable a revolution, as it is likely to meet with great opposition from several parliaments, whose principles are very imcompatible with those the Jesuits would endeavor to maintain and propagate in case of their restoration.

Thus you see the prospect before us gives but little cause to be content with this world, whilst past sufferings have served to strengthen, if possible, our belief in another better and more equitable than this. And indeed to a man lying under the public imputation of crimes, for which his own conscience clears him, and who is persuaded of the existence of a Deity, I know no proof of an immortality more sensible and comfortable, than this reflection, that an all powerful and infinitely just Being cannot consistently with those attributes, refuse him in another life that justice, which passion and iniquity have denied him in this. To pretend as some ancient and modern unbelievers have done, that virtue and a good conscience is its own reward, argues very little knowledge of the human heart, for many a hardy villain, from a natural alacrity and cheerfulness of mind, and possessed of worldly enjoyments, seldom finds, at least for any long time, his remorse to prey much upon him, or disturb his pleasures, whilst several good men on the contrary, from an unhappy temper or sickly constitution, but rarely feel any even intellectual enjoyments. I cannot otherwise account

for my having fallen into this train of philosophising which I hope you will excuse, than because I have habituated myself to it, as the best relief amidst so many affecting and melancholy scenes."

When the suppression was completely effected he retired to England, where he acted some time as the secretary to the former members of the society born in the British dominions, in the remonstrances which they made to the government of France on the subject of the property belonging to the two colleges of St. Omer and Liege, most of his brethren, who had been attached to these colleges, having also retired to that country.

Being intimately acquainted with and known to most of the Catholic nobility and gentry of England, he was prevailed upon by Lord Stourton, a highly respectable nobleman of that religion, to make the continental tour with his son, in the character of governor or preceptor.

The journal which he kept on this occasion, is remarkable for its just and wise reflections, is replete with the classical taste and erudition of the writer, and indulges in a free criticism upon the journals of former

travellers over the same ground.* While engaged in this tour, he wrote likewise a succinct history of England, for the use of his pupil, in the form of a dialogue, principally to guard his young mind against the general irreligious tendency of some, and the particularly hostile tendency of other writings, upon the same subject, against the Catholic faith.

On his return to England, he was solicited by the then Lord Arundel, another Catholic nobleman, to reside in his family, as well for the purpose of administering in the character of chaplain, the consolations of a persecuted and oppressed religion to the members of that illustrious house, still steadfast in the faith of its ancestors, as to afford to them the singular advantages and enjoyment of his society: and being at liberty to do so, by the extinction of the society of Jesuits under whose banners he had enlisted, and to whose orders he would have paid a ready obedience in encountering the toils and dangers and privations of the most forlorn mission, he accepted the invitation which had been given to him, and became a resident in the family of Lord Arundel. In the hospitable retreat of

* For Journal, see Appendix.

Wardour castle, the seat of his noble patron, adorned by the virtues which shone forth so conspicuously in the lives of Lord and Lady Arundel, the resort of the best society of England, the chaplain of the family was pre-eminently distinguished by the spontaneous attention and kindness which a respect for his talents, accomplishments, and attainments never failed to inspire: but amidst these fascinating circumstances he did not for a moment lose sight of the evangelical character with which he was invested, nor suffer the homage paid to his worth and talents to weaken in the smallest degree the spirit of true humility which had been deeply imprinted in his heart.

After a residence of a year or two at Wardour castle, he was warned by the state of the differences between England and her colonies to turn his attention to his own country, and to avail himself of the first opportunity that might occur for returning to his native land from which he had been so long separated, but towards which he ever entertained that warm and active attachment so often afterwards displayed during the course of his long and useful career: his detention

in Europe having been protracted by a latent hope, very precious to his heart, that the society of Jesus might be re-established in the Catholic states of the continent and their dependencies.

He accordingly embarked in one of the last ships that sailed for the Potomac before the commencement of the Revolutionary war, and landed at Richland, in Virginia, the seat of William Brent, Esq., who had married his second sister.

To those who respect the finest feelings of the human heart, which impel us by a mysterious sympathy to such as are connected with us by the ties of blood, it is needless to remark, that the scene which ensued was a joyful and an interesting one. Mr. Carroll found himself surrounded on a sudden by the numerous families of his two sisters, the oldest one being also married to a gentleman of the same name and neighborhood, and a near relative of the husband of his second sister, to Robert Brent, Esq., one of his earliest acquaintances and friends, his school fellow and companion at Bohemia, and his classmate and fellow student at the college of St. Omer. In a heart like that of Mr.

Carroll, such a scene was peculiarly calculated to awaken the kindest emotions. In no period of his existence abroad did distance ever sever him in affection, nor avocation or society withdraw him, from a correspondence with his family in this country. In a letter which he wrote to his brother-in-law, Mr. Robert Brent, he says: "I know not what effect absence may have upon the minds of other persons: but upon mine it increases the solicitude which I feel for the well being of those with whom I am always connected." And there is not one of his relatives surviving who cannot call to mind some particular token of affection and kindness, received at his hands, and all are bound to remember with gratitude the lessons of wisdom and truth which he constantly gave them and enforced by his example.

With such strong natural affections, and with social propensities of corresponding energy, those only, who were well acquainted with him, can estimate, in its due proportion, the extent of the sacrifice which he offered up, when he became a Jesuit, and bound himself by the solemn obligations of a vow to obey the mandates of his superiors, whither-

soever they might carry him, into whatsoever remote or inhospitable climates beyond the reach of kindred or friends or the abodes of even civilized man.

After spending two days with the families of his sisters in Virginia, he hastened to the residence of his mother in Montgomery county, Maryland, whither she had retired with her two youngest daughters, soon after the death of his father, eager to evince in person, the love and respect which he had so long cherished in absence, for this best of mothers and women: and to greet with cordial affection and kindness his surviving brother, already mentioned (the first having died in infancy), and his two other sisters.

After the usual endearments of such meetings, he lost no time in entering upon the active exercise of the duties of the priesthood, collected together the dispersed Roman Catholics residing in Montgomery county, united them in congregations which he incessantly watched over and instructed, both by word and example. In a little time he extended his attention to the families of his two sisters, settled in Stafford county, Virginia, and to the Roman Catholics in their neigh-

borhood: for the Catholic religion having been professed and practised in the family of the ancestors of his brothers-in-law from the earliest settlement of that county, though at some periods with great risk and hazard, —other families of that communion had been drawn to that neighborhood, who, together formed a small congregation, that was occasionally visited by a priest from Maryland, who, on these occasions, celebrated mass and administered the sacraments of the Church in the house of the Brent family at Aquia.

While he continued in the care of these congregations they afforded gratifying proofs of the moral and religious effects produced upon the character, habits, and manners of the people composing them, by the influence of the virtues, the talents, and admonitions of their active and zealous pastor, all combined for their instruction and edification. With the blessing of God, the congregation thus established by the zeal and industry of Mr. Carroll in Montgomery county, after having afforded to its pious founder during his lifetime, every assurance of increasing usefulness and prosperity, has continued with steady progress under the zealous guidance

of good pastors, to perpetuate the advantages of divine worship to a growing community.

The little congregation at Aquia, owing to the emigration of the Brent family, and other local causes, has unfortunately not been kept together, and the efforts of its clergymen, were not crowned with permanent success.

At this period he was called to the performance of other duties, by which his congregations were to undergo the temporary loss of his ministry and services. His talents and virtues had given him a high reputation, and his zeal and good wishes in the cause of his native land, now engaged in its struggle for independence were well known. These circumstances, added to the consideration, that he was a minister of the religion professed by the people of Canada, and familiarly acquainted with their language, habits, and character, induced a solicitation on the part of the commissioners, whom Congress had appointed from their own body, that he would accompany them on their mission to Canada. The gentlemen charged with this important and delicate duty, were Dr. Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Chase, and Charles

Carroll of Carrollton, (the last named being intimately connected with him by the ties of relationship and early association at the same schools in this country and in Europe.) To this request, Mr. Carroll acceded, with the view, so far as he was to have an agency, to induce the inhabitants of that country, who professed the same religion with himself, to remain neutral, and to refrain from taking up arms on the side of Great Britain: —further than this he deemed it incompatible with his character as a minister of religion to interfere.

The mission proved unsuccessful, and it is believed that the commissioners were not suffered to proceed further than Montreal.

The following letter from Mr. Carroll to his mother, dated Montreal, May 1st, 1776, descriptive of his journey thither, may prove interesting to our readers. He says: "We have at length come to the end of our long and tedious journey, after meeting with several delays on account of the impassable condition of the lakes: and it is with a longing desire of measuring back the same ground, that I now take up my pen to inform you of

my being in good health, thank God, and of wishing you a perfect enjoyment of yours.

"We came hither the night before last and were received at the landing by General Arnold, and a great body of officers, gentry, &c. and saluted by firing of cannon, and other military honors. Being conducted to the general's house, we were served with a glass of wine, while people were crowding in to pay their compliments, which ceremony being over, we were shown into another apartment, and unexpectedly met in it a large assembly of ladies, most of them French. After drinking tea, and sitting some time, we went to an elegant supper, which was followed with the singing of the ladies, which proved very agreeable, and would have been more so, if we had not been so much fatigued with our journey. The next day was spent in receiving visits, and dining in a large company, with whom we were pressed to sup, but excused ourselves in order to write letters, of which this is one, and will be finished and dated to-morrow morning.

"I owe you a journal of our adventures from Philadelphia to this place. When we came to Brunswick in the Jersey govern-

ment, we overtook the Baron de W——, the Prussian general who had left Philadelphia the day before us. Though I had frequently seen him before, yet he was so disguised in furs, that I scarce knew him, and never beheld a more laughable object in my life. Like other Prussian officers, he appears to me as a man who knows little of polite life, and yet has picked up so much of it in his passage through France, as to make a most awkward appearance. When we came to New York, it was no more the gay, polite place it used to be esteemed: but was become almost a desert, unless for the troops. The people were expecting a bombardment, and had therefore removed themselves and their effects out of town: and the other side the troops were working at the fortifications with the utmost activity. After spending some disagreeable days at this place, we proceeded by water up to Albany, about 160 miles. At our arrival there, we were met by General Schuyler, and entertained by him, during our stay, with great politeness and very genteely. I wrote to you before, of our agreeable situation at Saratoga, and of our journey from thence over lake George to Ticonderoga:

from this latter place we embarked on the great lake of Champlain, about 140 miles to St. John. We had a passage of three days and a half. We always came to in the night time. Passengers generally encamp in the woods, making a covering of the boughs of trees, and large fires at their feet. But as we had a good awning to our boat, and had brought with us good beds, and plenty of bed clothes, I chose to sleep on board."

Mr. Carroll having thus given proof of his patriotism by abandoning for a time the humble but useful performance of his clerical duties, to devote himself to the service of his country, in the way which he deemed congenial to his obligations as a clergyman, and exposing himself to the risks and hardships of a long and fatiguing journey, continued by word and example during and after that struggle which ended in the glorious emancipation of this country from a foreign yoke, to assert and inculcate those liberal and enlarged political principles which are ever the cherished guides and mentors of great and good men. We find him ever speaking in warm and patriotic terms in his voluminous correspondence with his esteemed friend and

classmate, the Rev. Charles Plowden, and which we deem it well here to introduce.

"You tell me that in my last I was afraid of entering into politics; but that you will force me into the subject. Indeed, my dear Charles, I had no such fears about me. I have the happiness to live under a government very different from that I have been just talking of (the Austrian); and I have never had any cause to fear speaking my sentiments with the utmost freedom. But when I was writing to you, I had so many other subjects nearer to my heart to talk of, that I suppose I left them to the public papers. You have adopted the language of some of the prints on your side the water, by representing us under imperious leaders, and the trammels of France; but alas! our imperious leaders, by whom I suppose you mean the congress, were at all times amenable to our popular assemblies, elected by them every year, often turned out of their seats, and so little envied, that as their expenses were often unavoidably greater than their profits, it has at all times been a difficult matter to get men disinterested and patriotic enough to accept the charge—and

as to the trammels of France, we certainly never have worn her chains, but have treated with her as equals, have experienced from her the greatest magnanimity and moderation, and have repaid it with an honorable fidelity to our engagements. By both of us proceeding on these principles, the war has been brought to an issue, with which, if you are pleased, all is well, for we are certainly satisfied."

He says in a subsequent letter, "If your other kind letters never came to hand, you have only to blame the unsleeping avidity of your own cruizers, whom I should call pirates, were I inclined to follow your example of abusing the political measures of our adversaries. For, since the object of the war, on your side, the right of parliamentary taxation, is now confessedly, and by every moderate man on both continents, acknowledged to have been unjust, surely every measure to attain that object must likewise have been unjust; and consequently your cruizers with all their commissions were nothing more than pirates. Thus much to retaliate for your stroke at our *faithless leaders*

and *faithless allies*, after which we will be done with politics."

Speaking about the younger Chatham, he uses the following strong and patriotic language:—"I sincerely rejoice, that the son of my favorite, the late Lord Chatham, conducts himself with such ability and integrity. You did not expect so much, perhaps, from an American; and indeed, we should be excusable, (if not as Christians, at least politically), for not bearing you much good will, in return for all the lies and misrepresentations which many of your soured and indignant countrymen are every day coining about us. You have certainly cramped our trade by some regulations, not merely selfish but revengeful. Your merchants will find, that without warfare we have immense resources, and the means of redress in our power; as soon as the establishment of our new federal government will allow those means to be called forth."

Mr. Carroll hastened back from this unsuccessful mission in Canada to his mother's house, where he had resided since his return to America, and entered again upon the active exercise of the functions of his ministry.

From this period till some years after the termination of the revolutionary war, he was principally employed in the service of the several congregations before spoken of, which he may be said in a great measure to have formed, alternately and periodically visiting and instructing them in the exalted duties of Christianity, and enforcing the principles of piety and charity, which he taught and inculcated, by his own persuasive example; and in directing and regulating the concerns of his respected mother's property,—whilst he contributed, in an eminent degree, by his respectful and affectionate demeanor towards her, by his kindness and attention to all others, and by the irresistible charm of his conversation, company, and manners, to impart to the family circle of her house the highest degree of interest and to secure to it the fullest share of domestic happiness. He availed himself of all the moments left from the above employments, and from the time devoted to acts of private devotion, for which, under all circumstances, he always set apart a large portion, to add to the abundant stock of information which he already possessed, such as could be derived from a review of

ancient literature, and a close and regular inspection of the public journals, miscellanies and literary works of the day, and to reciprocate, as he always did, with peculiar grace and kindness, all the offices of friendly and liberal intercourse with a large and respectable society.

He was some years afterwards drawn into a religious controversy with the Rev. Charles Wharton, who, from being a priest of the Roman Catholic Church, and educated at the same schools with himself, had become a minister of the Church of England. Mr. Wharton on that occasion having addressed the Roman Catholics of Worcester, in England, of whom he had been the chaplain, assigning the motives of his recantation, and impugning the doctrines of the church he had abandoned, the Rev. Dr. Carroll wrote and published an address to the Roman Catholics of the U. States in answer.

It is not our purpose to enter into a critical examination of the arguments on either side of this controversy, nor are we at all qualified for the task; but we are particularly called upon by the occasion to state the motives inducing, and the circumstances under

which the address to the Roman Catholics in the United States was written and published, as we shall do in the author's own words: and to add, that high as was his reputation before, it was greatly enhanced by that publication, not only with the Roman Catholics of the United States for whom it was specially written and published, but with liberal minds and enlightened individuals of other religious communities: and that, as far as it was read by such, it tended greatly to remove strong and early impressions, and to exhibit the religion of the author in new and advantageous lights. Subjoined to these extracts will be found so much of Mr. Wharton's reply, as was intended for an answer to the paragraphs of the address quoted.

Extracts from pages 4 *and* 5 *of the Address to the Roman Catholics of the United States of America.*

"You will not now be at a loss to account for the occasion of the present address. A letter to the Roman Catholics of the city of Worcester in England has been published here by one of their late chaplains: and had all the copies of it been transmitted to those

for whom *professedly* it is intended, I should not dedicate to animadversions on it, the few moments of leisure left me from other employments incident to my charge and profession, especially with the scanty materials of which I am possessed: for I am destitute of many sources of information, and unable to refer to authorities which I presume to have been collected on the other side with great industry. By the chaplain's own account, he has long meditated a separation from us: and during that time, he had the opportunities of resorting to the repositories of science so common and convenient in Europe.

"But the letter not only being printed here, but circulating widely through the country, a regard to your information and the tranquillity of your consciences requires some notice to be taken of it: for the ministers of religion should always remember, that it is their duty as well to enlighten the understanding, as improve the morals of mankind. *You are the salt of the earth*, Matt. v. 13, said Christ to his apostles, to preserve men from the corruptions of vice and immorality: and *you are the light of the world*, Matt. v. 14, to instruct and inform it."

Extract from pages 113 *and* 114 *of the same Address.*

"I have now gone through a task, painful in every point of view in which I could consider it. To write for the public eye, on any occasion whatever, is neither agreeable to my feelings or suited to my leisure or opportunities: that it is likewise disproportioned to my abilities, my readers, I doubt not, will soon discover. But if reduced to the necessity of publishing, I would wish that my duty led me to any species of composition, rather than that of religious controversy.—Mankind have conceived such a contempt for it, that an author cannot entertain a hope of enjoying those gratifications, which in treating other subjects, may support his spirits and enliven his imagination. Much less could I have a prospect of these incitements in the prosecution of my present undertaking. I could not forget in the beginning, progress and conclusion of it, that the habits of thinking, the prejudices, perhaps even the passions of many of my readers, would be set against all the arguments I could offer: and that the weaknesses, the errors, the absur-

dities of the writer would be imputed to the errors and absurdity of his religion. But of all considerations, the most painful was, that I had to combat him, with whom I had been connected with an intercourse of friendship and mutual good offices, and in connection with whom I hoped to have consummated my course of our common ministry in the service of virtue and religion. But when I found that he had not only abandoned our faith and communion, but had imputed to us doctrines foreign to our belief, and having a natural tendency to imbitter against us the minds of our fellow-citizens, I felt an anguish too keen for description: and perhaps the chaplain will experience a similar sentiment when he comes coolly to reflect on this instance of his conduct. It did not become the friend of toleration to misinform, and to sow in minds so misinformed the seeds of religious animosity.

"Under all these distressful feelings, one consideration alone relieved me in writing; and that was the hope of vindicating our religion to your own selves at least, and preserving the steadfastness of your faith. But even this prospect should not have induced

me to engage in the controversy, if I could fear that it would disturb the harmony now subsisting amongst all Christians in this country, so blessed with civil and religious liberty; which if we have the wisdom and temper to preserve, America may come to exhibit a proof to the world, that general and equal toleration, by giving a free circulation to fair argument, is the most effectual method to bring all denominations of Christians to an unity of faith."

Extract from pages 96 *and* 97 *of "The Reply to an Address to the Roman Catholics of the United States of America."*

In the reply of Mr. Wharton, the following personal allusions to his antagonist are not irrelevant to the subject of this sketch.

"Before the chaplain takes a final leave of the public on these matters, which he most sincerely wishes to do at present, he must beg its attention for a moment to the most material accusation thrown out in the address. He is accused of imputing doctrines to the Roman Catholics foreign to their belief and having a natural tendency to imbitter against them the minds of their fellow

citizens." He is accused of "misinforming, and of sowing in minds so misinformed, the seeds of religious animosity."—(Address p. 114.) "The Rev. gentleman could not have wounded his former friend in a more tender part. At such an attack *he also felt an anguish too keen for description*,—for such accusations coming from him, must extinguish every spark of good will towards the chaplain which may still be lurking among his former connections. They go to alienate the esteem of his recent friends, by holding him out as a disturber of the public peace, as an enemy to his country.—Did the Rev. gentleman perceive the natural tendency of such a censure, or could he think the chaplain deserved it? The Rev. gentleman might have known him better. There was a time when he honored him with his confidence and esteem, when he condescended to become the depository of his little concerns; at an early period of life, he kindly took him by the hand, and led him through the paths of honor and of virtue; his lessons were always those of friendship and of wisdom: from these flowed that sentiment of *universal benevolence* which the chaplain deems the most precious he pos-

sesses. Could the Rev. gentleman be ignorant of the growth of a plant, which he himself had nourished in the heart of his friend, and which he must have observed to flourish with a luxuriancy nearly approaching to enthusiasm? It was this sentiment that banished every word from his letter which could wound the feelings of the most delicate Roman Catholic: this made him distinguish between their persons and opinions, and prevented a dereliction of some of the latter from impairing the social affections which he cherished for the former. Far from wishing *to sow the seeds of religious animosity in the minds of his countrymen*, he would make every sacrifice to eradicate them forever: far from wishing to *imbitter the minds of their fellow citizens against the Roman Catholics of America*, he is proud to see them elevated to that equal respectability, to which, as zealous supporters of their country's freedom, and as a christian society, they are essentially entitled: far from harboring any religious animosity or narrowness of sentiment, he only wishes for opportunities to show how much he despises them: far from abandoning the cause of virtue and religion, as the Address

seems to insinuate—(p. 114) he means to exert his slender abilities and *consummate the course of his ministry* in the service of both."

The Roman Catholic clergy in the United States had been, heretofore, under the immediate government of an ecclesiastical authority, originally established in England by the Holy See, for the management of the concerns of the church in the British provinces of North America: but from the epoch of the establishment of American Independence, they had entertained the wish of being placed under the jurisdiction of some individual of their own body. They had accordingly made an application to this effect to the Pope, and had unanimously nominated and recommended the Rev. Mr. Carroll for this purpose: and in conformity with their wishes he was appointed by the Holy See, Apostolic Vicar General over the Roman Catholic Church in the United States. Upon receiving the appointment, he removed to the city of Baltimore.

The Roman Catholic clergy were influenced, in the application which they made to the Holy See, as well by a regard to the more

convenient organization and government of their church, as by a desire to adapt the condition of it, as nearly as might be, to the new political one of the United States.

The Rev. Mr. Carroll, alluding to this step on the part of the American clergy, uses the following language in a letter to his friend, the Rev. Mr. Plowden, dated September 26, 1783:

"Our gentlemen here continue, as when I last wrote. We are endeavoring to establish some regulations tending to perpetuate a succession of laborers in the vineyard, to preserve their morals, to prevent idleness, and to secure an equitable and frugal administration of our temporals. An immense field is opened to the zeal of apostolic men. Universal toleration throughout this immense country, and innumerable Roman Catholics going and ready to go into the new regions bordering on the Mississippi, perhaps the finest in the world, and impatiently clamorous for clergymen to attend them."

We deem it appropriate, and intimately connected with our subject, to insert the following notice on the establishment of the Roman Catholic religion in this country, beginning with its introduction, and concluding

with the epoch above referred to. This notice is stated by the Rev. Charles Constantine Pise, the editor of the Metropolitan, to have been originally written by Archbishop Carroll, and translated into the language in which he found it. The article appeared in the March number of 1830, and is as follows:

"Towards the end of the reign of James I. king of England, who died in 1625, the Catholics, oppressed by the penal laws of that kingdom, sought after an asylum from the persecution which they suffered at home. Lord Baltimore, a Catholic, obtained from the king a grant of all those lands which now form the state of Maryland. This grant was confirmed to him by a charter issued in form immediately after the succession of Charles I, to the throne of his father."*

By this same charter, the king granted to all who should emigrate to the new Province, the liberty of exercising their religion, and the rights of citizens. A great number of Catholics, and especially the descendants of ancient families, quitted England, and settled

* By Charles, the name of Maryland was given to this new province, in honor of his queen, Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV.

in America, towards the year 1630 (1634), under the conduct of Lord Baltimore. With them came Father Andrew White, an English Jesuit. This band of emigrants chose for their residence a district of country near the junction of the Potomac and St. Mary's river: the latter afterwards gave its name to the first town that was built there, and which continued to be the capital of the country, during seventy or eighty years.

"Father White finding himself unequal to the duties which pressed upon him, returned to Europe, in order to procure missionaries: and from the very imperfect memoirs before me, it appears, that he brought over with him Fathers Capley, Harkey, and Perret. Their principal residence was a place which they called St. Inigo, a Spanish word, which signifies Ignatius. They acquired there a considerable tract of land, a part of which is still in the possession of the Jesuits."

All historians, Protestants as well as Catholics, speak in favorable terms of the first Catholic emigrants, who faithfully observed the laws of justice, and by their humane deportment, gained the confidence of the Indians. Not an inch of land did they take by

violence from the aboriginal inhabitants, but they purchased a large district, and honorably confined themselves within the limits traced out in the charter, in so much that neither fraud nor bloodshed disgraced the birth of this rising colony.

In proportion as it increased, (and its progress was rapid), the heads of the establishment advanced into the country, accompanied by some clergymen, who, for their subsistence, and that of their successors, made several acquisitions of land.

Towards the year 1640, a design was formed to carry the gospel to the Indians of the neighboring parts. In the MS. which was lent me, I find that the provincial of the Jesuits wrote this year, to the young men at Liege, exhorting them to consecrate their services to this difficult and perilous enterprise. In consequence of this invitation, more than twenty requested, in urgent language, to be associated in the new mission, but from what I can learn from contemporary documents, it does not appear that they ever crossed the ocean: prevented, in all probability, by the influence of the Protestants, who inhabited the district of Virginia: and who saw, with

a jealous eye, the incomparably better understanding that existed between the Catholics and the Indians, than between themselves and the tribes around them. Add to this the troubles which arose the same year (1640) in England, and ended in the deposition and decapitation of Charles I. in 1649. The incredible hatred which the dominant party of that kingdom entertained against the Catholics, and the umbrage which was taken by the factious, at any interprise that could further the promotion of the Catholic religion, rendered it necessary for the emigrants to break off all communications with the Indians.

As long as Cromwell was in power, the Catholics of Maryland were cruelly harassed. Lord Baltimore was removed from the government, the Catholics were excluded from all offices of trust which they held before, and the clergy were reduced to the necessity of exercising their functions in secret and with the greatest circumspection.

From this epoch, I cannot discover any steps taken to diffuse the knowledge of the gospel among the Indians. Before the death of Cromwell, it is probable that they removed

into the interior at a very great distance, and in Maryland, there were hardly clergymen enough to discharge the duties towards the Catholics. The power and influence of the Protestants, supported by the English government, and favored by the colonies that surrounded them, had greatly increased: and the jealousy, formerly occasioned on the part of the Catholics by that correspondence with the Indians, was still alive.

After the restoration of Charles II., Maryland again flourished under the genial government of Lord Baltimore and his representatives. Pious establishments were formed, and the clergymen were scattered through the different sections of the province. They subsisted not on the contributions of the faithful, but on the products of the lands which they had obtained.

But after the revolution which followed in England, the Catholics were again deprived of public offices, and of the exercise of their religion, contrary to the privileges granted in their charter. In consequence of this intolerance, Lord Baltimore would again have been stript of his authority, had he not unfortunately yielded to the times, and con-

formed to the Protestant religion. From this era, a tax was levied on all the colonists without distinction, for the support of the ministers of the Anglican Church. Many attempts were made to enforce the penal laws: and if they were not generally carried into execution, but only in certain places, and that too by intervals, it was according to all appearances, less through a spirit of toleration, than through policy. The most distinguished families, impatient of the restrictions, and induced by the example of Lord Baltimore, forsook the Catholic Church. By this means the Protestant party became strengthened: the seat of government was transferred from St. Mary's to Annapolis, where the Protestants were more numerous; and the Catholics, oppressed and persecuted, were reduced to poverty and contempt.

Notwithstanding these misfortunes, several congregations existed in the province, with resident priests; and others, which were occasionally visited by the missionaries. But they were so removed and dispersed, that a great number of families could not assist at mass, and receive instructions, but once in the month; and though pains were taken by

the pious heads of families to instruct their children, it must have been done but imperfectly. Among the poor, many could not read, and those who could, were without books, to procure which it was necessary to send to England: and the laws against printers and sellers of Catholic books, were extremely rigorous. It is surprising that, notwithstanding all these difficulties, there were still so many Catholics in Maryland who were regular in their habits, and at peace with all their neighbors. The propriety of their conduct was a subject of edification to all, and continued to be so, until the new emigrants from foreign parts introduced a licentiousness of manners, which exposed the Catholic religion to the reproach of its enemies.

Near the residences of the clergy, and on the lands belonging to them, small chapels were built, but few elsewhere: so that it was necessary to say mass in private houses. The people contributed nothing towards the expenses of the clergy, who, poor as they were, had to provide for their own support, for the decoration, &c. of the altars, and for their travels from place to place. They demanded

nothing, so long as the produce of their lands could suffice for their maintenance.

Towards the year 1730, Father Grayson, a Jesuit (all the clergymen, it should be remarked, who labored in the colonies, were Jesuits), went from Maryland to Philadelphia, and laid the foundation of the Catholic religion in that city. He resided there until the year 1750. Long before his death, he built the chapel near the Presbytery (St. Joseph's) and formed a numerous congregation, which has continued to increase to the present day.

He was succeeded by Father Harding, whose memory is still in benediction in that city, and under whose auspices, and the untiring energies of whose zeal, the beautiful church of St. Mary's was erected.

In the year 1741 two German Jesuits were sent to Pennsylvania, for the purpose of instructing the German emigrants who had settled in that province. These were Father Schneider, a Bavarian, and Father Wapeler, a Hollander—men full of zeal and prudence. The former was particularly gifted with a talent for business, and possessed, says the MS. before me, "consummate prudence and

intrepid courage." The latter, after having labored eight years in America, during which he converted many, was in consequence of his bad health, constrained to return to Europe. He was the founder of the establishment now called Conewago. Father Schneider formed several congregations in Pennsylvania, built the church at Goshenhoppen, and propagated the Catholic religion around that country. Every month, he visited the Germans who lived in Philadelphia, until the time when he judged it expedient to establish a resident German priest in that city. The gentleman chosen to fill that post, was the Reverend Father Farmer, a distinguished and highly respected personage, who some years before, had arrived in America, and been stationed at Lancaster, where his life was truly apostolical. It was about the year 1760, that he took possession of this new appointment. "No one can be ignorant," remarks my MS. "of the labors which were undergone by this servant of God." His memory is in veneration among all who knew him, or have heard of his merit. He continued to be a model for all succeeding pastors, until his death, which occurred in 1786.

In 1776 the American independence was declared, and a revolution effected, not only in political affairs, but also in those relating to religion. For while the thirteen provinces of North America rejected the yoke of England, they proclaimed, at the same time, freedom of conscience, and the right of worshipping the Almighty according to the spirit of the religion to which each one should belong. Before this great event the Catholic faith had penetrated into two provinces only, viz.—Maryland and Pennsylvania. In all the others the laws against the Catholics were in force. Any priest coming from foreign parts, was subject to the penalty of death; all who professed the Catholic faith were not merely excluded from all offices of government, but could hardly be tolerated in a private capacity. While this state of things continued, it is not surprising that but very few of them settled in those provinces: and they, for the most part, forsook their religion. Even in Maryland and Pennsylvania, as was before mentioned, the Catholics were oppressed: the missionaries were insufficient for the wants of two provinces, and it was next to

impossible to disseminate the faith beyond their boundaries.

By the declaration of independence, every difficulty was removed, the Catholics were placed on a level with their fellow-christians, and every political disqualification was done away.

Several reasons are assigned in the MS. for the immediate adoption of the article extending to all the members of the states, an unqualified freedom of conscience.

"I. The leading characters of the first assembly or congress, were, through principle, opposed to every thing like vexation on the score of religion: and as they were perfectly acquainted with the maxims of the Catholics, they saw the injustice of persecuting them for adhering to their doctrines.

"II. The Catholics evinced a desire, not less ardent than that of the Protestants, to render the provinces independent of the mother country: and it was manifest that if they joined the common cause and exposed themselves to the common danger, they should be entitled to a participation in the common blessings which crowned their efforts.

"III. France was negotiating an alliance

with the United Provinces; and nothing could have retarded the progress of that alliance more effectually, than the demonstration of any ill will against the religion which France professed.

"IV. The aid, or at least the neutrality of Canada, was judged necessary for the success of the enterprise of the provinces, and by placing the Catholics on a level with all other christians, the Canadians, it was believed, could not but be favorably disposed towards the revolution.

"It was not till after the war, that the good effects of freedom of conscience began to develope themselves. The priests were few in number and almost superannuated. There was but little communication between the Catholics of America and their bishop, the vicar apostolic of the district of London, on whose spiritual jurisdiction they were dependent. But whether he did not wish to have any relation to a people whom he regarded in the light of rebels, or whether it was owing, says my old MS., to the natural apathy of his disposition, it is certain that he had hardly any communication either with the priests or the laity on this side of the Atlantic. An-

terior to the declaration of independence, he had appointed the Rev. Mr. Lewis his vicar; and it was this gentleman who governed the mission of America during the time that the bishop remained inactive.

"Shortly after the war, the clergy of Maryland and of Pennsylvania, convinced of the necessity of having a superior on the spot, and knowing too that the United States were opposed to any jurisdiction in England, applied to the Holy See to grant them the privilege of choosing a superior from their own body. The request was acceded to, and their unanimous suffrages centred on the Rev. John Carroll, whose election was approved by the Holy See, and on whom ample power, even that of administering confirmation, was immediately conferred.

"The number of Catholics at this period, in Maryland, amounted to about sixteen thousand, the greater part of whom were dispersed through the country and employed in agriculture. In Pennsylvania there were about seven thousand, and in the other states, as far as it was possible to ascertain, there were about fifteen hundred. In this number, however, were not included the Ca-

nadians or French or their descendants, who inhabited the country to the west of the Ohio, and on the banks of the Mississippi.

"In Maryland the priests were nine in number, in Pennsylvania but five. Of these, five were worn out with infirmities and age, and the rest were advanced in years. None, except those in Baltimore and Philadelphia, subsisted on the contributions of their flocks."

A little more than half a century has elapsed since the foregoing sketch was penned by the father of the Catholic Church in this country, and what a change has been worked in that short space of time! How salutary, beautiful and encouraging, has been the operation of that wise and humane course of policy, which our glorious revolution established and enforced!

Under the effect of a pure and enlightened spirit of religious equality, knitting together the social and political bonds of this great republic, guided by pious and learned pastors, and above all, by the aid and protection of the Most High, that venerable and divine religion whose banners are unfurled in every region of the globe, has steadily and rapidly advanced to its present state of

strength and prosperity. Scarce fifty years ago we are told that the number of Roman Catholics in this country was about twenty-five thousand, now it amounts to one million three hundred thousand. Then there were but twenty-four clergymen, of whom "five were worn out with infirmities and age, and the rest were advanced in years;" now they number four hundred and forty-eight, employed in the ministry, and one hundred and fourteen otherwise occupied. And this wonderful progress of religion is now as active as ever, and the zeal, virtues, piety and learning of the clergy of the present day in no manner inferior or less effective than those of their laborious predecessors.

We have made the following brief compilation from the Catholic Almanac, for the purpose of placing before our readers the present state of the Roman Catholic Church in this republic.

The first diocesses established in this country, during the life time of the subject of our sketch, were those of Baltimore, New York, Philadelphia, Bardstown and Boston. The first was established in 1790, and after having been so worthily occupied by its first in-

cumbent, has been successively and efficiently administered by Archbishops Neale, Marechal, Whitfield and Eccleston.

That of New York, which comprises the state of New York and the eastern part of New Jersey, was established in 1808, and its present incumbent is the Right Rev. Bishop John Hughes.

That of Philadelphia, which includes the states of Pennsylvania and Delaware, and the western portion of the state of New Jersey, was created in 1808, and the present bishop is the Right Rev. F. P. Kenrick.

The diocess of Bardstown, embracing the state of Kentucky, was established in 1808, and the see is now occupied by the Right Rev. Bishop Benedict J. Flaget.

That of Boston, which embraces all the New England states, was established in 1808, and the Right Rev. Benedict J. Fenwick at present occupies the see.

The diocesses established since the death of Archbishop Carroll, are those of Cincinnati, Richmond, Vincennes, St. Louis, New Orleans, Dubuque, Natchez, Mobile, Charleston and Nashville.

The diocess of Cincinnati was established

in 1821, and embraces the state of Ohio, and its present bishop is the Right Rev. John B. Purcell.

That of Richmond, which embraces the state of Virginia, was formed in the year 1820. The Most Rev. Samuel Eccleston, Archbishop of Baltimore, has the administration of it during the vacancy of the see. Its present occupant is the Right Rev. R. V. Whelan.

That of Vincennes, which includes the state of Indiana, and the eastern part of Illinois, was created in the year 1834 by Pope Gregory XVI. and the present incumbent is the Right Rev. Celestin De la Hailandière.

That of St. Louis, which embraces the state and territory of Missouri, the state of Arkansas and the western moiety of Illinois, was formed in 1826. The present incumbent is the Right Rev. Bishop Joseph Rosati.

The diocess of New Orleans, which embraces the state of Louisiana, was established in 1793, under the French government, and its present occupant is the Right Rev. Anthony Blanc, D. D.

The diocess of Dubuque comprises Iowa;

it was created by Gregory XVI. in 1837, and the Very Rev. Mathias Loras, vicar general of Mobile, appointed its first bishop, and installed 29th April, 1839.

The diocess of Natchez, which comprises the state of Mississippi, was established by the same pope, 28th July, 1837, and the Right Rev. J. J. Chanche is the present bishop.

The diocess of Mobile comprises the state of Alabama, and the territory of Florida. The Right Rev. Michael Portier was appointed vicar apostolic by Pius VII. in 1825, and was elevated to the episcopal chair in 1829.

The diocess of Charleston, comprising North and South Carolina and Georgia, was established 12th of July, 1820. The present bishop is the Right Rev. John England.*

The diocess of Nashville, which comprises the state of Tennessee, was created by Gregory XVI., and the Right Rev. Richard P.

* The pious and learned occupant of this diocess, departed this life on the 11th April, of the present year, regretted by his own church, and a large circle of admiring acquaintances of all denominations. The public grief was testified at Charleston, where he closed his distinguished and useful career on earth, in the

Miles, provincial of the Dominican order in the United States, was appointed to the see.

Having introduced the foregoing details for the purpose of presenting to our readers some idea of the extraordinary progress of the Roman Catholic faith in the United States, we return to the immediate subject of our remarks.

One of the first objects that engaged the attention of the new vicar general, after he had been thus selected by his own brethren and approved by the head of the Church, afforded a fair presage of his future utility and services. Learned and enlightened himself, he was fully aware of the value of public instruction and education in its general influence upon the moral and religious character of society. Actuated by this sentiment, therefore, and desirous of rendering a lasting service to the religion of which he was so zealous a member, he suggested the idea, and in conjunction with his respectable brethren,

most imposing and honorable manner. Long indeed will the memory of this great and good prelate be preserved in the hearts of those who knew him, and his name be enrolled among the brightest ornaments of the Roman Catholic church in this country.

succeeded in procuring the establishment of a college at Georgetown, on the Potomac, in the year 1791, which, though specially destined for the youth of the Roman Catholic religion in the United States, should, nevertheless, be opened to those of other persuasions, upon the principles set forth in the subjoined extract from the proposals written by him, and used for obtaining subscriptions toward the purchase of the ground and erection of the necessary buildings.

"The object of the proposed institution is," says the prospectus, "to unite the means of communicating science with an effectual provision for guarding and improving the morals of youth. With this view, the seminary will be superintended by those who, having had experience in similar institutions, know that an undivided attention may be given to the cultivation of virtue and literary improvement: and that a system of discipline may be introduced and preserved, incompatible with indolence and inattention in the professor, or with incorrigible habits of immorality in the student.

"The benefit of this establishment should be as general as the attainment of its object is

desirable. It will, therefore, receive pupils, as soon as they have learned the first elements of letters, and will conduct them through the several branches of classical learning, to that stage of education, from which they may proceed with advantage to the study of the higher sciences, in the university of this, or those of the neighboring states. Thus it will be calculated for every class of citizens,—as reading, writing, arithmetic, the easier branches of the mathematics, and the grammar of our native tongue will be attended to no less than the learned languages.

"Agreeable to the liberal principle of our constitution, the seminary will be open to students of every religious profession. They, who in this respect differ from the superintendents of the academy, will be at liberty to frequent the places of worship and instruction appointed by their parents: but with respect to their moral conduct, all must be subject to general and uniform discipline.

"In the choice of situation, salubrity of air, convenience and communication and cheapness of living, have been principally consulted—and Georgetown offers these united advantages."

The means, however, to meet the necessary expenses in the execution of this excellent plan, were almost entirely furnished from the property of the Roman Catholic clergy in Maryland, little or nothing being obtained by private contribution.

Before the establishment of that college, the Roman Catholics of the United States were reduced to the necessity of sending their sons to such literary institutions and places of instruction as the country then afforded, except such as had the means to send them abroad; and as these were exclusively under the patronage or superintendence of persons of other denominations, and one of the objects of the endowment of some of them was expressly to keep down the growth of the Roman Catholic religion, the youth of that persuasion were thus precluded from the opportunity of being instructed in the duties or made acquainted with the principles of their own faith, or were exposed to the danger of imbibing strong and early prejudices against it.

The importance and primary necessity of establishing an institution which might meet the wants of the Catholic community, and

save them from the influence and intrigues of the enemies of their religion, presented themselves in the strongest possible manner to the mind of the active vicar general, as is evinced in the warm terms with which he alludes to the subject in his valuable correspondence with the Rev. Mr. Plowden.

We find him in 1788, speaking about the progress of the buildings and his great desire to procure good and competent professors.—"I have the happiness to inform you, that our academy is begun, and we have some hopes of seeing it covered this year. Do not forget your promise of some assistance. But when the academy is completed, that is, the house, what shall we do for a general director or president of it? Liege absorbs all those who would be willing to lend their assistance, and others have probably settled themselves for life. Do look out for some gentleman of abilities and judgment, and inspire into him a desire of rendering this eminent service. For, as for masters, we can do for a little time, with some to be collected in the country, and our own institutions will, in time, supply them."

In February, 1791, he says: "I trust in

God, that our Georgetown academy will be opened in a few months. Congress having resolved to make that neighborhood, and perhaps that town their seat, and consequently the capital of the United States, gives a weight to our establishment there, which I little thought of, when I recommended that situation for the academy."

He writes, under date of November, 1795, always returning with fresh ardor to his favorite subject:—"The new building of the college is nearly completed, and a noble one it is. It presents a front of 154 feet, and an elevation of three stories on one side, and four on the other, as a slant of the ground uncovers the offices upon that view. I sincerely wish you had such a building at Stonehurst."

In a subsequent letter, after alluding to the admirable spirit of devotion which confined the Catholic clergy to their posts during a contagious disorder in Philadelphia, he remarks as follows:—"Would to God, Georgetown may ever emulate the excellency of Stonehurst in that respect! But till it be blessed with masters acting with one spirit, and enforcing by their uniform example, the precepts of virtue, this cannot be expected,

however ardently desired. Hired professors have an interest so different from that of a sacred attachment to the cause of God, his church and its truth, that we must labor with all our might to be able to form a better system."

Previous to this, in 1790, he entered more at large in his views in relation to the academy, which was then in a state of preparation. "I am greatly obliged to you for your generous intentions respecting it. I think we shall get enough of it accomplished this summer, to make a beginning of teaching, but our great difficulty will be to get a proper president or superintendent. The fate of the school will depend much on the first impression made upon the public; and a president of known abilities and reputation will contribute greatly to render that impression a very favorable one. Many seminaries of education have been raised in the United States within these few years; but, in general, they are exceedingly defective in discipline. A college has been lately opened at Annapolis, under the protection of our state legislature, and amply endowed by them. It is erected on principles of perfect equality as to religion. The

original agents appointed by act of assembly, to model and encourage it, were three clergymen and three laymen, one of whom were Catholic, church of England, and Presbyterian. I had the honor of being the former. This matter was broached before we formed a plan of our academy at Georgetown. I see at present no other advantage to us Catholics in the Annapolis college, than this, that it may be a place for our young lads, who have perfected their grammar education at Georgetown, to pursue the higher studies of law, medicine, &c. In other respects it will be hurtful to our institution."

Having quoted enough to show our readers how deeply interested was the subject of our biography, in the establishment and welfare of his favorite creation, the prosperity, high and deserved reputation of which, for the piety and learning of its faculty, and salutary influence upon the moral and religious education of youth, he lived to witness and enjoy, we cannot do better than conclude our notice of this now flourishing and excellent institution, by inserting the interesting article, written for the Metropolitan of Decem-

ber 5th, 1832, by its then editor, the Rev. Charles Constantine Pise.

"GEORGETOWN COLLEGE.

"Among the literary institutions which since the era of the revolution, have been founded, and have continued to flourish with undiminished reputation, the university commonly called "the Georgetown College," stands eminently conspicuous. Few nurseries of education have sent forth pupils formed with nicer attention, more general information, more elegant attainments, and above all, with greater regard to moral and religious principles, than the one which constitutes the subject of these remarks.

"The system of education pursued by the faculty is not an experimental one, the success of which time alone will be able to develope; it is a system which has long since been proved: which has, for nearly three centuries, awakened the public attention, challenged the public scrutiny, and won the public approbation. To have an idea of this system, the reader must consult the standard by which it is directed, the *ratio dicendi et discendi*, by Pére Jouvency.

"Let it not, however, be imagined that because it is ancient, it is *antiquated;* because it was adopted ere much of the light which has since dawned on the literary world had been descried, that it is not conformable to the age and country in which we live. The *substance* of education is always the same, and it will not be denied that our fathers, and their fathers, were as *substantially* taught, as we are at the present day. What a catalogue of most elegant scholars and profoundly learned men cannot the two preceding ages, as well as the present, display to the admiration of the curious—philosophers, historians, linguists, poets, divines,—their works live after them, many of them models of style, and stamped with erudition.

"But the system of this university keeps pace with the development and spirit and genius of our age and country. It embraces all modern literature, comprises all modern inventions, and cherishes the principles of liberty and republicanism. The library which contains twelve thousand volumes, is open to the curiosity of the pupils, and is deficient in very few of the works of modern writers that are worth preserving; reviews, periodicals,

pamphlets, papers, and every variety of miscellaneous effusions, selected with scrupulous caution by the faculty, are offered to the perusal of the students.

"The character of their national celebrations, the institute of their Philodemic society, the spirit breathed through the speeches at their commencements, attest their patriotism, and ardent devotion to our national institutions, and the care that is taken to implant in the youthful breast a lofty love of independence, and a generous patriotism. Perhaps there is not in the country an institution, where a greater portion of republican feeling can be discovered, whenever occasion calls it forth. Witness, for instance, the very excellent oration delivered last fourth of July by Mr. Floyd, son of the governor of Virginia. Their essays, their speeches, their poetry, are pregnant with the *vis divina*, that fire of freedom, and that *dulcis amor patriæ*, which would do honor to the youths of Rome and Athens, in their most flourishing days.

"The *morale* of the university is preserved with the most vigilant solicitude. The nature of the system precludes almost the possibility of their pupils contracting any of those

vicious habits which would grow up with them to maturity. The situation secluded, and aloof from the bustle of the town; the vigilance of the prefects, under whose eyes the students are always found; the attendance of the professors when they walk for exercise beyond the limits of the enclosure, keep them not in servile fear, but under a necessary and decorous restraint. In this manner, they are preserved from boyhood, from practices which are frequently the disgrace of youth not so strictly guarded, and the ruin of many a great and aspiring mind.

"Morality is not the only lesson that is taught. Religion is inculcated. For it would be difficult, almost impossible, to preserve the former, without inculcating the latter. The tenets professed by the university are Roman Catholic. These the faculty feel themselves bound to explain in their catechistical instructions to all the pupils, no matter of what denomination, for they deem it a part of a general education to know what are the *real* principles of the Catholic Church, and how their principles are misrepresented. But at the same time, they bind themselves to make no distinction between Catholic or

Protestant—to instruct the former radically, and to use no improper influence to proselytize the latter. All alike are required to attend divine worship, to listen to moral discourses, to devote some time to the study of the sacred scriptures, on Sundays and ecclesiastical festivals; but, of course, only the Catholic portion are required to comply with the *practical* obligations of the church.

"The institution, for its general economy and concerns, is under the direction of the faculty. Besides the president and vice-president, there is a prefect of studies, who is always a gentleman of general attainments and great experience, whose office it is to preside over the schools—to arrange the different classes—to note the talents, improvement, disposition and conduct of the students, while at class; to keep a strict account of these particulars, and report to the president at stated times. The ordinary prefects are three in number. It is their office to watch over their deportment during the hours of recreation, to give special permissions, to exact punishments when duty renders it necessary to inflict them, and to accompany the pupils in their walks and rambles. The

professors are responsible for their pupils only during the hours of their various classes. This arrangement is admirably calculated to preserve strict order; it divides the arduous responsibility of a university, specifying to each member his particular department, with which no other can conflict,—which is distinct in itself, and thus allows more time, more opportunity of exactness, and regular discipline, than could be derived from any other mode of action.

"The local advantages of Georgetown college yield to none, it may be said without exaggeration, in any country. Elevated and sequestered, though within the limits of the town, it lifts its turrets high above the forest that surrounds it, commanding a view of the Potomac, on whose banks it is situated, of the bridge which stretches across the waters, of Mason's Island, of the Capitol, President's house, and the whole city of Washington. These scenes constitute the front view. The back prospect is perfectly rural, varied with hill and dale, and deeply set with every species of forest trees. A serpentine walk, embowered in shade, circulates around the valley, forming a delightful promenade during

the sultry season, and reminding the wandering student of the vale of Tempe.

. . . . Prærupta quod undique claudit—
Silva . . . . . .

"While the stream gurgling down its sides may be fancied to correspond to the waters of Peneus, which

. . . . . ab imo
Effusus Pindo spumosis volvitur undis.

"The main college, a noble edifice 153 feet in length, was erected in the year 1791. It is supported by two towers, which give an appearance of grandeur and solemnity to the whole. These towers may be descried at a very great distance; and their view, especially from the river, is beautiful and imposing. Like the 'distant spires and antique towers' of Eton, they 'crown the watery glade,' and as the eye of any of her former pupils falls upon them, he may exclaim with Gay—

Ah, happy hills!—Ah, pleasant shade!—
Ah fields beloved in vain!

"The other building, commonly called 'the old college,' claims a more ancient origin. It was raised anno 1789. Its dimensions are

sixty-three by fifty-one feet. Hitherto the refectory and kitchen have been under this roof, but they are soon to be removed to a new and magnificent edifice which is now erecting, and which will be covered in before winter. This addition to the old college is ninety-five feet in length, and fifty-one in breadth, built of the best materials, in the most substantial manner. There has also been erected, under the auspices of the present enterprising president, a new infirmary, four stories high, sixty feet in length and fifty-three in breadth, Through each story, a wide and airy corridor runs the whole length of the building, and the apartments are so arranged, that the sick students have each a comfortable room, with excellent accommodations, and are attended with indefatigable care by the infirmarians.

"This institution was founded anno 1789. Among her first pupils, she is proud to acknowledge the Hon. William Gaston of North Carolina, and Robert Walsh, Esq. of Philadelphia.

"Since its foundation, as may be seen from the registers preserved in the archives of the house, several thousands of youths have been educated within its walls; and an idea of the

salubrity of the place will be formed from the fact, that up to the present date, *not an individual pupil has ever died in it.* It is very doubtful whether the same extraordinary fact can be asserted of any similar institution in this country."

The library of the college, which was composed of twelve thousand volumes in 1832, has been increased to about twenty-four thousand, and the new building mentioned in the foregoing article, is now occupied as a refectory, chapel and study, and exhibition room. The college possesses a valuable museum, with a fine collection of philosophical and chemical instruments, and a vineyard is cultivated on the farm, which supplies the chapel, and those of Georgetown and Alexandria with wine for the altar, and is also used by the clergy at their own table. It is the intention of the faculty to erect an observatory, which will add much to the usefulness and reputation of the institution, and under the direction of its learned and zealous professor will prove of great and enduring service to the cause of science in this country.

The present president is the Rev. James Ryder, whose high reputation as a cler-

gyman, professor and orator, is a source of pride for his own church in this country, and of lasting benefit to the venerable institution which he directs.

We make the following brief extracts from an able address, delivered July 26th of the present year, before the Philodemic society, by P. P. Morris, Esq., of Philadelphia, in order to add, if possible, to the eloquent description which precedes, thus spontaneously paid to the merits of Georgetown college, and its claims to public patronage and respect.

Our orator feelingly exclaims: "The position of our alma mater is not easily forgotten. The broad and sinuous waters of the Potomac flowing majestically at our feet, marking for miles the boundary between the forest-crowned shores of Maryland and Virginia, with its picturesque aqueduct and long line of bridge on the distance, enlivened by the various green of Mason's Island upon the left, with its rocky shores and ruined mill upon the right, give a physiognomical expression to the scene, which to be remembered, needs to be but once beheld—and then those delightful walks, in groves more truly academic than any which my eyes have else-

where found, where the gurgling of fountains and the melody of birds, conspire in the intervals of study to soothe and refresh us. The library, so truly the student's own, where the mental wealth of centuries is accumulated, and where with a little industry, the burning lights of ages may be concentrated to illumine the present, and where, it gives me special pleasure to say, the learned of the modern world are not forgotten. The distinguished authors upon the leading topics of modern inquiry, whether politics, morals, or philosophy, are ranged side by side with the writers of by-gone days, that, by enquiry and comparison, every opportunity may be afforded to the diligent student for correcting prejudice and amending error.

"The cry of the modern world is that of Ajax—Let us have light: and I have peculiar satisfaction in saying, gentlemen, that if when you come upon the stage of life, you find yourselves behind the age in your ideas, it cannot be attributed to the institution under whose care your mental training has been conducted."

Again: "To you, my friends, these hurried reflections are, perhaps, superfluous. The

learned and reverend gentlemen with whom the last few years of your lives have been spent, experience and a fond recollection of their kindness admonish me, must have long since, with a more firm and skilful hand engraven all these matters upon the tablet of your memories. The moral propriety of every human action was wont, if I mistake not, to be the theme of constant discussion within these walls, and I take pleasure in saying that the cause of truth, of human happiness and human rights, was always ably, eloquently and ardently, supported : and I trust this learned faculty will pardon me for saying, what I feel urged by the spirit of truth to declare, that no where have I seen more ardent devotion to American liberty, purer patriotism, more unblemished virtue, and a more intelligent uuderstanding of the rights of man, than among the followers of Ignatius Loyola."

This important and absorbing object of the attention of Mr. Carroll being so far effectuated, he united with his brethren in an application to the general assembly of Maryland for an act to incorporate the trustees of the college, and they united with this application a petition to incorporate likewise the Ro-

man Catholic clergy in the state of Maryland, for the purpose of their (the clergy's) empowering trustees of their own choice in the manner to hold, and to transmit to their successors, the real estates and other property, to a considerable amount in that state, which had from time to time been purchased by them, or been given or bequeathed for the use of the church: and which had all along been held by the precarious tenure of testamentary titles, derived from the individuals in whom the legal interest was vested: and through his exertions and interest, and the liberality of that legislature, the two acts of incorporation solicited were duly passed.

Soon after the present government of the United States was put into operation, a writer in the Gazette of the United States, then edited and printed in New York, where the legislature of the Union was holding its first session, wrote and put forth a paper in that Gazette of an equivocal character, but which Mr. Carroll thought might and would be construed into an insidious invitation to the establishment of a national religion for this country. Being in sentiment and in practice, the friend and advocate of a universal

toleration, or rather of a perfect liberty of conscience in matters of religion, he prepared and sent to the editor of that Gazette, a conclusive reply, under the signature of Pacificus, which brought forth an explanatory note from the writer of the first mentioned paper, in which he altogether disclaims the design imputed to him.

This reply will be deemed, beyond doubt, by our readers, conclusive proof of the liberal spirit of the Roman Catholic Church, and the active and patriotic part taken by its members in the glorious struggle which secured for us the blessings and liberty we now enjoy.

"*To the Editor of the Gazette of the U. S.*

"SIR: Every friend to the rights of conscience, equal liberty, and diffusive happiness, must have felt pain, on seeing the attempt made by one of your correspondents, in the Gazette of the U. S., No. 8, May the 9th, to revive an odious system of religious intolerance. The author may not have been fully sensible of the tendency of his publication, because he speaks of preserving universal toleration. Perhaps he is one of those

who think it consistent with justice, to exclude certain citizens from the honors and emoluments of society, merely on account of their religious opinions, provided they be not restrained by racks and forfeitures, from the exercise of that worship which their consciences approve. If such be his views, in vain then have Americans associated into one great national union, under the express condition of not being shackled by religious tests; and under a firm persuasion, that they were to retain, when associated, every natural right, not expressly surrendered.

"Is it pretended, that they who are the objects of an intended exclusion from certain offices of honor and advantage, have forfeited by any act of treason against the United States, the common rights of nature, or the stipulated rights of the political society, of which they form a part? This the author has not presumed to assert. Their blood flowed as freely (in proportion to their numbers) to cement the fabric of independence, as that of any of their fellow-citizens. They concurred, with perhaps greater unanimity than any other body of men, in recommending and promoting that government, from

whose influence America anticipates all the blessings of justice, peace, plenty, good order and civil and religious liberty. What character shall we then give to a system of policy, calculated for the express purpose of divesting of rights legally acquired, those citizens who are not only unoffending, but whose conduct has been highly meritorious?

"These observations refer to the general tendency of the publication, which I now proceed to consider more particularly. Is it true (as the author states) that our forefathers abandoned their native homes, renounced its honors and comforts, and buried themselves in the immense forests of this new world, for the sake of that religion which he recommends as preferable to any other? Was not the religion which the emigrants to the four southern states brought with them to America, the pre-eminent and favored religion of the country which they left? Did the Roman Catholics who first came to Maryland, leave their native soil for the sake of preserving the Protestant Church? Was this the motive of the peaceable Quakers in the settlement of Pennsylvania? Did the first inhabitants of the Jerseys and New

York quit Europe for fear of being compelled to renounce their Protestant tenets? Can it be even truly affirmed that this motive operated on all, or a majority of those who began to settle and improve the four eastern states? Or even if they really were influenced by a desire of preserving their religion, what will ensue from the fact, but that one denomination of Protestants sought a retreat from the prosecution of another? Will history justify the assertion that they left their native homes for the sake of the Protestant religion, understanding it in a comprehensive sense as distinguished from every other?

"This leading fact being so much misstated, no wonder that the author should go on bewildering himself more and more. He asserts that the religion which he recommends laid the foundations of this great and new empire, and therefore contends that it is entitled to pre-eminence and distinguished favor. Might I not say with equal truth, that the religion which he recommends exerted her powers to crush this empire in its birth, and is still laboring to prevent its growth? For, can we so soon forget, or now

help seeing, that the bitterest enemies of our national prosperity profess the same religion which prevails generally in the United States? What inference will a philosophic mind draw from this view, but that religion is out of the question—that it is ridiculous to say, the Protestant religion is the important bulwark of our constitution—that the establishment of the American empire was not the work of this or that religion, but arose from a generous exertion of all her citizens, to redress their wrongs, to assert their rights, and lay its foundations on the soundest principles of justice and equal liberty?

"When he ascribed so many valuable effects to his cherished religion, as that she was the nurse of arts and sciences, could he not reflect, that Homer and Virgil, Demosthenes and Cicero, Thucydides, Livy, Phidias and Apelles, flourished long before this nurse of arts and sciences had an existence? Was he so inconsiderate, as not to attend to the consequences, favorable to polytheism, which flow from this reasoning, or did he forget, that the emperor Julian, that subtle and inveterate enemy of christianity, applied this very same argument to the defence of heathenish

superstition? The recollection of that circumstance may induce him to suspect the weight of his observation, and perhaps to doubt the fact, which he assumed for its basis.

"But he tells us that Britain 'owes to her religion her present distinguished greatness,' a gentle invitation to America to pursue the same political maxims, in heaping exclusive favors on one and depressing all other religions!

"But does Britain indeed owe the perfection and extent of her manufactures and the enormous wealth of many individuals, to the cause assigned by this writer? Can he so soon put it out of his mind, that the patient industry so natural to English artificers, and the long monopoly of our trade, and that of their dependencies by increasing the demand, and a competition among her artizans, contributed principally to the perfection of the manufactures of Britain, and the plunder of Indian provinces poured into her lap immense fortunes, which murder and rapacity accumulated in those fertile climes? God forbid that religion should be instrumental in raising such greatness!

"When the author proceeds to say that the clergy of that religion, which operated such

wonders in Britain, 'boldly and zealously stepped forth, and bravely stood our distinguished sentinels, to bring about the late glorious revolution,' I am almost determined to follow him no further: he is leading me on too tender ground, on which I choose not to venture. The clergy of that religion behaved, I believe, as any other clergy would have done in similar circumstances; but the voice of America will not contradict me, when I assert, that they discovered no greater zeal for the revolution, than the ministry of any other denomination whatever.

"When men comprehend not, or refuse to admit, the luminous principles on which the rights of conscience and liberty of religion depend, they are industrious to find out pretences for intolerance. If they cannot discover them in the actions, they strain to cull them out of the tenets of the religion, which they wish to exclude from a free participation of equal rights. Thus this writer attributes to his religion the merit of being most favorable to freedom; and affirms that not only morality, but liberty likewise, must expire, if his clergy should ever be contemned or neglected, all which conveys a refined insinuation

that liberty cannot consist with, or be cherished by any other religious institution, which therefore, he would give to understand it is not safe to countenance in a free government.

"I am anxious to guard against the impression, intended by such insinuations; not merely for the sake of any one profession, but from an earnest regard to preserve inviolate forever, in our new empire, the great principle of religious freedom. The constitutions of some of the states, continue still to entrench on the sacred rights of conscience; and men, who have bled, and opened their purses as freely, in the cause of liberty and independence, as any other citizens, are most unjustly excluded from the advantages, which they contributed to establish. But if bigotry and narrow prejudices have hitherto prevented the cure of these evils, be it the duty of every lover of peace and justice to extend them no further. Let the author, who has opened this field for discussion, beware of slily imputing to any set of men, principles or consequences which they disavow. He perhaps may meet with retaliation. He may be told of, and referred to Lord Littleton, as zealous a Protestant as any man of his days,

for information, that the principles of non-resistance seemed the principles of that religion, which (we are now told) is most favorable to freedom, and that its opponents had gone too far in the other extreme.*

"He may be told farther, that a Rev. prelate of Ireland, the Bishop of Cloyne, has lately attempted to prove that the Protestant Episcopal Church is best fitted to unite with the civil constitution of a mixed monarchy, while Presbyterianism is only congenial to republicanism. Must America then, yielding to these fanciful systems, confine her distinguishing favors to the followers of Calvin, and keep a jealous eye on all others. Ought she not rather to treat with contempt these idle and (generally speaking) interested speculations, refuted by reason, history and daily experience; and rest the preservation of their liberties, and her government, on the attachment of mankind to their political happiness, to the security of their persons, and their property which is independent of religious doctrines and not restrained by any?

"*June* 10, 1789. PACIFICUS."

[*From Amer. Museum, Philad.*

* See *Dialogue of the Dead.*—First Dialogue.

It was discovered now from the increased numbers of the Roman Catholics, that it would greatly promote the regular and more convenient discipline of their church, if the United States were formed into a separate diocess, and a bishop appointed over it. An application to this effect was accordingly made to the Holy See by his reverend brethren, recommending and soliciting this measure, and as they done on a former occasion, respectfully presenting his name.

The Pope, to whom the virtues and character of the Rev. Doctor Carroll* were well known, by the intimate and close connexion which had subsisted between him and the Holy See, in his administration of the Catholic Church of the United States as apostolic vicar general, and by the distinguished reputation which his talents and services had procured for him at Rome, formed the United States into a separate diocess, as was desired, and readily confirmed the nomination which had been made to him.

* He had been made Doctor of Laws by the University of St. John's of Annapolis, in Maryland, and afterwards received the same degree and that of D. D. from other universities in the United States.

In the valuable correspondence with the Rev. Mr. Plowden, from which we have so often quoted, Dr. Carroll, in 1789, alludes to the negotiations which had been opened with the Holy See in relation to the appointment of a bishop, in the following terms:—"I received only about the middle of last month, Cardinal Antonelli's letter, dated in July last, by which he informs me, that his holiness has granted our request for an ordinary bishop, the see to be fixed by ourselves, and the choice to be made by the officiating clergymen. The matter will be gone on immediately, and God, I trust, will direct to a good choice. This confidence is my comfort; otherwise I should be full of apprehensions of the choice falling where it would be fatal indeed."

In May of the same year, informing his correspondent of the issue of the election which placed him in the responsible post of the first American Roman Catholic bishop, he deplores in the most humble and Christian manner this (for him) unexpected result, and expresses the fears which he entertained of his want of abilities to give satisfaction. In reading these, and other senti-

ments so feelingly and eloquently poured forth by our meek and pious clergyman, we are forcibly impressed with a conviction of their sincerity, and with a feeling of the most exalted respect and admiration towards the writer.

He writes as follows:—"Communicating freely with you as I do, you would not forgive me, were I to omit informing you, that a grant had been made to all our officiating clergy to choose one of their body, as bishop; and it is left to our determination whether he shall be an ordinary, taking his title from some town of our appointment, or a *titular* bishop, by which I understand, a bishop constituted over a country without the designation of any particular see, (vide Thomassin de la discipline de l' Eglise). Our brethren chose to have an ordinary bishop, and named Baltimore to be the bishop's title, this being the principal town of Maryland, and that state being the oldest and still the most numerous residence of our religion in America. So far all was right. We then proceeded to the election; the event of which was such as deprives me of all expectation of rest or pleasure henceforward, and fills me with ter-

ror, with respect to eternity. I am so stunned with the issue of this business, that I truly hate the hearing or mention of it; and therefore will say only, that since my brethren, whom in this case I consider as the interpreters of the Divine will, say I must obey, I will even do it, if by obeying I shall sacrifice henceforth every moment of peace and satisfaction. I most earnestly commend myself to your prayers and those of my other friends."

Continuing in the same strain of touching piety, spiritual fear and christian resignation to the will of God, and obedience to clerical authority, he adds in subsequent letters: "If I could persuade myself, dear sir, to follow your example, in refusing peremptorily to submit to the choice of my brethren, I have much reason to think it would be better for our holy religion, and certainly to my greater ease of mind; but having previously used all my sincere endeavors to divert them from such a choice, I cannot but acquiesce in it, as it was unanimous, excepting one vote. At the same time, my own knowledge of myself informs me better than a thousand voices to the contrary, that I am entirely unfit for a station, in which I can have no

hopes of rendering service, but through His help and continual direction, who has called me to it, when I was doing all in my power to prevent it.

"The interest you take in a late event, proves the warmth of your friendship; but it proves likewise, how blind and partial friends are liable to be. Your condolence would have suited better the situation of my mind; every day furnishes me with new reflections, and almost every day produces new events, to alarm my conscience, and excite fresh solicitude at the prospect before me."

It is a subject of grateful pride and satisfaction on the part of the Roman Catholics in this country, and the friends of the church elsewhere, to have it in their power now to assert in the most emphatic terms, that the apprehensions of the newly appointed bishop were without foundation. By the help and grace of that God to whose service he so zealously devoted himself, and with the aid of a sound judgment, real piety, and pre-eminent talents, the administration of his diocess was in all respects such as to justify the choice of his brethren, and to be pleasing in the eyes of God and man.

Dr. Carroll having thus been appointed bishop over the Roman Catholic Church in this diocess, his episcopal see was established in Baltimore, and he assumed, with the approbation and by the authority from which he received the appointment, the title of "Bishop of Baltimore."

He lost no time, upon receiving the proper evidence of his appointment, in taking the necessary steps for his consecration, in compliance with the united wishes of his brethren, and from a respectful deference to the high authority from which he derived it. Under all the circumstances which presented themselves, he determined upon going to England for this purpose, and accordingly went thither in 1790.

Having received an invitation from Thos. Weld, Esq., an old friend of his, to be consecrated at his residence, he writes thus to his correspondent in February, 1790, still clinging to the hope, that his nomination would not be confirmed at Rome: "I cannot sufficiently acknowledge the most obliging and honorable testimony of Mr. Weld's regard: you will be pleased to express, with all that warmth, which you can communicate to

your expressions, my deep sense of his generous politeness. My inclination certainly leads me to accept of an offer not only so flattering, but which will afford me an opportunity of seeing some of those friends whom I shall ever honor and love. But I cannot yet determine what I shall do. I still flatter myself that Divine Providence will provide some worthier subject to be its instrument in founding a church in America."

The confirmation of the holy see, of the choice made by the American clergy, having decided him as to the course duty compelled to adopt, the Bishop elect, hastened his departure for England, and sailed early in the summer of 1790.

It was no less gratifying to those of his early friends in England, who still survived, than it was to him again to meet, after so long a separation. He did not suffer the claims of friendship, however, to interrupt or retard the purpose of his visiting that country. Having made the necessary arrangements, he was accordingly consecrated in the chapel of Lulworth castle, the seat of Mr. Weld, the 15th of August of the same year, by bishop Walmsley, upon which interesting

occasion, an appropriate discourse was pronounced by his old friend, Father Charles Plowden, a distinguished member of the society of Jesus.

This discourse, with a brief account of the ceremony, we present to our readers.

This "account of the establishment of the new see of Baltimore," after giving some hasty details on the subject of the introduction of Catholicity into Maryland, lauding the spirit of religious equality which existed in the United States, and mentioning the fact of the elevation to the episcopacy of Dr. Carroll, goes on to remark, "upon the receipt of his bulls from Rome, he immediately repaired to England, where his person and merits were well known; and presented himself for consecration to the Right Rev. Dr. Charles Walmsley, bishop of Rama, senior vicar apostolic of the Catholic religion in this kingdom. By invitation of Thomas Weld, Esq., the consecration of the new bishop was performed during a solemn high mass, in the elegant chapel at Lulworth castle, on Sunday the 15th day of August, 1790, being the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary; and the munificence of that gentleman omit-

ted no circumstance, which could possibly add dignity to so venerable a ceremony. The two prelates were attended by their respective assistant priest and acolytes, according to the rubric of the Roman pontifical. The richness of their vestments, the music of the choir, the multitude of the wax lights, and the ornaments of the altar, concurred to increase the splendor of the solemnity, which made a lasting impression upon every beholder. When the whole company was seated, the following short address was delivered to the congregation, by one of the assistant priests:

"'Our blessed Lord and Redeemer, having defeated the powers of hell, by the triumph of the cross, formed to himself a kingdom of earth, which was to consist of the chosen of every nation; because all nations were now become his own, by right of conquest. The sun of justice, which rose from the east, has in its progress enlightened every region of the globe; and the kingdom of Christ, the church, under the government of his vicar and of pastors deputed by him, has successively embraced the whole world. Ages succeed ages; empires subvert empires; but the

empire of Jesus Christ perseveres ever one and the same; ever persecuted and ever conquering; because all human revolutions are entirely subservient to it; and the formation of the kingdom of Christ is the ultimate object of the whole dispensation of Providence, in the government of this world. Never, perhaps, was this truth more sensibly evinced, than in the late violent convulsions, by which the hand of the Almighty has dismembered the great British empire, and has called forth into existence a new empire in the western world, the destinies of which, we trust, are founded in his tenderest mercies. For although this great event may appear to us to have been the work, the sport of human passions, yet the earliest and most precious fruit of it has been the extension of the kingdom of Christ, the propagation of the Catholic religion, which, heretofore fettered by restraining laws, is now enlarged from bondage, and is left at liberty to exert the full energy of divine truth. Already is Catholicity extended to the utmost boundaries of the immense continent of America. Thousands are there earnestly demanding Catholic instructors. And all, penetrated with reverence for

the apostolical see of St. Peter, have concurred to demand from his successor, a Catholic prelate, whose knowledge and whose zeal may establish the faith of Peter in those extensive countries.

"It is to be observed, that if Britain infected them with error, we have the consolation to know, that their Catholicity is also derived immediately from us; and as we, in former ages, received the faith of Rome from the great St. Gregory and our apostle St. Austin: so now, at an interval of twelve hundred years, our venerable prelate, the heir of the virtues and labors of our apostle, will, this day, by commission from the successor of St. Gregory, consecrate the first father and bishop of the new church, destined, as we confide, to inherit those benedictions which the first called have ungratefully rejected. Glorious is this day, my brethren, for the church of God, which sees new nations crowding into her bosom: glorious for the prelate elect, who goes forth to conquer these nations for Jesus Christ, not by the efforts of human power, but in the might with those weapons which have ever triumphed in this divine warfare. He is not armed with the strength of this

world; but he is powerful in piety, powerful in zeal, powerful in evangelical poverty, and firm reliance on the protection of that God who sends him. Glorious is this event, for his numerous spiritual children, to whom his virtues have long endeared him: comforting it is to us who have been long connected with him by the virtuous ties of education, profession and friendship; but in a special manner, my brethren, honorable and comforting is this awful solemnity to his and our common benefactor, the founder of this holy sanctuary, which shall be revered through succeeding ages, even by churches yet unnamed, as the privileged, the happy spot from whence their episcopacy and hierarchy took their immediate rise, and this precious distinction will be justly attributed to the protection and favor of the glorious mother of God, whose house it is,* and through whose patronage all christian churches are founded. On this her greatest solemnity, my brethren, it is your duty to implore the particular assistance of the great queen of heaven; and while you are edified by the solemn rites, with which the

* It is dedicated to the B. V. Mary.

Catholic church consecrates her prelates, you will earnestly solicit the descent of the Holy Ghost, on the bishop elect, that like another Austin, he may worthily fulfil the extent of the apostleship to which he is called; and when you implore for him the sevenfold grace of the Holy Spirit, you will not fail to demand it through the intercession of her whom you daily salute, 'Mother of Divine Grace.'

"In full confidence of her protection and blessing upon our ministry, we proceed to the solemnity of the consecration."'

The bulls constituting the see of Baltimore, was given by Pope Pius VI., and bears date the 6th November, 1789.

He principally devoted to the interchange of social civilities with his numerous friends, the short space of time that intervened before the sailing of the same ship (in which he proposed returning); and although pressing invitations were extended from old and attached acquaintances, he could not reconcile it to his sense of duty to accept them, and pass that time, which he considered as now belonging to the flock that anxiously expected and needed him at home, in selfish enjoyment.

From a letter to a friend, dated London, September 13, 1790, declining an invitation to revisit Lulworth castle, we see how much he sacrificed in thus suddenly and for ever separating himself from kind and warm-hearted friends, whose society he had enjoyed for so brief a time.

He says, "I am sorry, very sorry, indeed, to inform you that I cannot, without the greatest inconvenience, revisit Lulworth, and present once more my respectful thanks to the worthy master and mistress of the castle. I have balanced long, in my own mind, the opposite considerations of further sojournment in England, and immediate return to America; and I think, after all deliberation, that my duty calls me to return immediately to my diocess, and give the example of residence in it; for, in general, bishops are so ready to admit pretexts for exempting themselves from that obligation, that I think myself bound to give them no encouragement by my example, even on a plausible pretence. I shall therefore make all necessary preparations for sailing in a fortnight or a little more from this time. I cannot resolve on this without great pain of mind; and in-

deed without feeling some regret for having come to England, since I must leave it so soon, and in it leave so many valuable, not only my dearest friends, but the friends of religion and models of virtue. Long shall I retain the impression made on me at Lulworth castle by the goodness, the charity, the loveliness of every branch of that most respectable family; and I am sure my heart will be full of the gratefulest emotions when I shall sail abreast of the castle. They will accompany me to America, and will be soothed, though revived afresh, whenever I shall have the comfort of a letter from you."

Having thus done violence to his feelings, and sacrificed on the altar of duty his own most ardent wishes and predilections, in October of the same year he embarked at Gravesend, and arrived at Baltimore on the 7th December, after a rough and disagreeable passage. The late Bishop Madison, of Virginia, between whom and his reverend friend the most cordial relations were long after this agreeable meeting carefully preserved, accompanied him to and returned with him from England; he likewise having gone thither for the purpose of being conse-

crated bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in that state.

The arrival of Bishop Carroll was announced in a public journal of Baltimore with expressions of peculiar satisfaction, and in terms evincing the highest respect of his fellow citizens of all denominations. He himself gives the following description of his reception, and of the ceremonies attendant upon his installation, in a letter to his correspondent in England. "I gave you information, by the first opportunity, of my safe arrival at Baltimore, December 7th. At my arrival, as my friends in Baltimore got notice of the ship being in the bay, I was met by a large body of Catholics and others at the landing, and conducted to our house. On the following Sunday you may believe the concourse of all sorts of people to our church was very great, though the day proved unfavorable. Five of my brethren were with me. They, with the trustees or wardens of the church, received me, vested in my pontificals, at the door, and walked into the church processionally; after the *Asperges*, and whilst the *Te Deum* was singing, I was conducted to the foot of the

altar, and, after it was finished, to the pontifical seat or throne, where I received the obeisance of the clergy, and some of the laity, in behalf of the rest, they approaching to kiss the episcopal ring. The remaining ceremonies were performed as in the pontifical, such as giving solemn benediction, proclaiming indulgences," &c.

After remaining a few days in Baltimore, he hastened to the residence of his mother, to testify towards her those sentiments of love and veneration which characterized so strongly his intercourse with her, and to renew those kindly and genial relations with the rest of his family and surrounding friends, which rendered him so dear and acceptable to them all.

About the period of his short visit to England, the tendency of the revolutionary principles and movements in France warned the clergy, in the last mentioned country, of the necessity of escaping from scenes in which they had become so obnoxious to the principal actors, and of seeking an asylum where they might live in safety, and be permitted to exercise the functions of their ministry without personal hazard. About the period,

therefore, of which we speak, many of the most respectable of that body took refuge in England; and amongst these the Rev. Mr. Nagot, one of the directors of the ecclesiastical seminary of St. Sulpice, in Paris, was much distinguished, as much by his connection with that learned institution, as by his own personal merits. The bishop of Baltimore, availing himself of the opportunity that accident had thus placed in his way, engaged the services of this gentleman and his brethren for his newly established diocess; Mr. Nagot undertaking to return to France and make the necessary arrangements, in concert with the superior and other members of the college of St. Sulpice, for their coming to and forming a similar establishment in this country.

Before leaving the United States to be consecrated, Dr. Carroll had foreseen the necessity of such an establishment, and had aided his brethren in the formation of one attached to the college of Georgetown, but upon a small scale. The exigencies of the missionary service, however, leaving too small a portion of professors of divinity even for the school at Georgetown, it became par-

ticularly desirable to procure the establishment of one upon a larger scale; especially since it was no longer necessary for those persons in the United States who might be called to the church, to incur the expense of leaving their own country to be ordained by bishops residing in foreign states.

Under these circumstances, the plan above mentioned was suggested to Mr. Nagot, and adopted, and correspondent measures were accordingly taken, upon his return to Paris. Great difficulties were experienced, however, by the Sulpicians, in the withdrawal of themselves, or any part of their property, from France, owing to the political state of things at that time in that country; but they succeeded so far as to effect the removal to the United States of Mr. Nagot, with several of his learned and pious brethren; and through the kind and opportune assistance of Mr. Gouverneur Morris, the then minister of the United States in France, to transfer a part of their funds and property likewise to this country. By the advice of the right reverend bishop, and the judicious selection of a Roman Catholic gentleman of Baltimore, an eligible and prudent invest-

ment was made of those funds in the purchase of a house and several acres of land appurtenant to it, in the environs of that city. Here the Sulpicians instituted their new ecclesiastical seminary under the immediate government of their former director, and with the auspices of the full approbation, agency, and best wishes of their new bishop.*

In a letter dated London, 25th September, 1790, the bishop gives the following brief account of his first interview with Mr. Nagot on the subject of the proposed establishment in his new diocess. "Providence seems to favor our views. In consequence of a previous correspondence between the Nuncio at Paris and Monsieur Emery, superior general of St. Sulpice, on one hand, and myself on the other, Monsieur Nagot, superior du petit seminaire de St. Sulpice, has been here. We have settled that two or three gentlemen, selected by M. Emery, shall come over to Baltimore next spring. They are furnished with the means of purchasing

* The seminary was raised to the rank of university in January, 1805, by the Legislature of Maryland.

ground for buildings, and, I hope, of endowing a seminary for young ecclesiastics. I believe they will bring three or four seminarians with them, who either are English, or know it. They will be amply provided with books, apparatus for the altar, church, &c., professors of philosophy and divinity. I propose fixing these very near to my own home, the cathedral of Baltimore, that they may be, as it were, the clergy of the church, and contribute to the dignity of divine worship. This is a great and auspicious event for our diocess; but it is a melancholy reflection that we owe so great a blessing to the lamentable catastrophe in France."

Impressed with the importance of this establishment for the best interests of the church, to which he was now constantly devoting all his time, talents, and energies, we find the bishop alluding to the subject, throughout his correspondence with his English friend, in the warmest and most gratified manner, testifying in word and deed the deep concern he felt for the progress and prosperity of his worthy protegée.

He says, in Sept. 1792, "When I returned from Boston, in July, I had the happiness of

finding here M. Nagot with his company from St. Sulpice; himself, and three other priests belonging to the establishment, viz., a procurator and two professors, and five seminarians. They will be joined soon by one or two natives of this country. These now, with Mr. Delavan, a worthy French priest, form the clergy of my cathedral, (a paltry cathedral,) and attract a great concourse of all denominations by the great decency and exactness with which they perform all parts of divine service.

"If in many instances the French revolution has been fatal to religion, this country promises to derive advantage from it."

In this letter he also takes occasion to allude to the laborious nature of the station to which he had just been elevated. "Such," says he, "has been my continual occupation since my return, that I have not yet had leisure enough to convoke a diocesan synod. If possible one must be held early in November. The business of a coadjutor, and many regulations to be formed, call loudly for the holding of such a meeting. My diocess is yet badly regulated, and it cannot be much better, till I can command more time to form

regulations. Being all alone to answer all letters, to copy them, to attend to all details, much of course is neglected or forgotten. If I do not write you as often or as fully as you have a right to expect, you must not impute the fault to me, but to unavoidable hindrances. I assure you, that there are twenty people in this town, to whom I owe, and wish to pay the respect of a civil visit, without having been able to do it for many months; though I am busy from five in the morning, till between ten and eleven at night."

Soon after the return of the bishop, he addressed a pastoral letter to the flock committed to his charge, intended specially for their instruction and edification, and communicated particularly to them by their several priests; but a copy of that letter falling into the hands of a reverend gentleman belonging to another religious communion, he took fire at the signature made use of, that of "John, Bishop of Baltimore," and published through the medium of the newspapers, some harsh strictures upon it. This brought forth "The Reply" on the part of the bishop of Baltimore, and no further animadversions appear to have been made upon the signature,

though constantly afterwards used by the bishop during his administration. This document runs as follows: "An Answer to Strictures on an Extraordinary Signature." "The Roman Catholic Bishop of Baltimore, in a late letter to his flock, which acknowledges his pastoral jurisdiction, adopts the language sanctioned by the immemorial usage of his church, and takes his appellation from the town, where his episcopal see is erected. This is agreeable to the discipline established amongst Catholics, and to the practice of his brethen in the episcopacy; and he hopes that it is not repugnant to any law of his country. He has not invaded the rights of any religious society; nor interfered to control their *form of words;* nor disturbed their ministers, for speaking or writing, in any style they chose, to the people who looked up to them for instruction. Leaving them in the unimpeached exercise of that liberty, which our free constitution grants them, he has claimed the same benefit to himself; and, of consequence, has been careful to preserve the language of his predecessors in the episcopal charge, from its institution, near eighteen hundred years ago, down to the present time; for he knows,

that the integrity of christian doctrine, generally, is preseved best by a faithful adherence to the same modes of speech; and he is not disposed to sacrifice to a spirit of innovation, or to a levelling antihierarchical system of religion, those expressions, by which all ages of christianity have designated his office.

"Yet this, it seems, is not pleasing to a writer, who signs himself *Liberal.* If like his opponent, the bishop were disposed to write trifling strictures on a signature, he would not let this of *Liberal* pass unnoticed: for surely, none ever accorded less than this, with the composition to which it is subscribed. To be *liberal*, in the modern use of the term, is to assert, with firmness and impartiality, the liberty, to which all of us are entitled, of professing the doctrines, following the usages, and speaking the language of our respective churches. Does *Liberal* allow this? So far from it, that he intimates a threat, if his eyes be offended again with the inscription of *Bishop of Baltimore.* Such is his *liberality.*

"'Baltimore,' he says, 'is a large place, containing many inhabitants, who *disown* the bishop's *jurisdiction, and some who do a good deal more:*' by which he means, it may be

supposed, that they reject episcopacy altogether. Let them, if they please, disown the one, and reject the other: they use their constitutional right: and if the bishop knows his own heart, he will leave them in the full enjoyment of it; but he will ask, whether, in the earliest days of christianity, Rome, Antioch, Alexandria, Corinth, Ephesus, &c., were not likewise *large places*? and whether a great majority of their inhabitants were not heathens, who *disowned* and *rejected* bishops and their jurisdiction? Nevertheless, perplexing, as it must have been to the *liberals* of those days, to discover the meaning and persons intended by the following words: we read of *Clement, Bishop of Rome; Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch; Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria*, &c. Where lies the greater difficulty which cost *Liberal* so much time, before he could ascertain the person meant by *John, Bishop of Baltimore?* Catholics, to whom alone the letter was addressed, and who know the voice of their pastor, were at no loss to recognize him. Others, into whose hands the *curious performance*, (so *Liberal* styles it,) may have fallen, received a fair and honest caution to be upon their guard, by

the addition of these words to the obnoxious title: *With the approbation of the Holy See, Bishop of Baltimore.* When Protestant, Methodist, or if they will pardon the expression, Presbyterian bishops, profess to hold their bishopricks under the same approbation of the see apostolic, it may be necessary to use some farther discrimination.

"In this very town, we have a *Bank of Maryland*, and a *Baltimore Insurance Office.* In the principles of *Liberal*, stockholders in these establishments infringe the civil right of their countrymen and fellow-citizens, for to be consistent, he must allow, that these denominations import an arrogant claim of monopolizing all banking transactions in the state, and making insurances, exclusively of all competition, in the town of Baltimore. And yet, I am sure that neither the holders of shares formed pretensions so extravagant, nor was it the intention of the legislature, which incorporated them, to debar other adventurers from making similar speculations, or assuming the same name and title, if they chose it.

"So likewise, let who will, in other religious professions, call themselves *Bishops of*

Baltimore, it will excite neither regret nor opposition in him who is now known by that denomination. Indeed, considering his line of episcopal succession, and source of spiritual jurisdiction, he will think his own the best founded claim; but, if others judge differently, he will not accuse them of invading his civil rights: much less will he insinuate, that they are guilty of presumption; and less still will he provoke them with a threat, or denounce against them *a return for their temerity.* He conceives, that they would treat such threats, from him, with contempt, and therefore, he entertains the same sentiment for those of *Liberal.*

"The bishop is at a loss to find out any passage or expression, in his letter, which could furnish a shadow of pretence to *Liberal* for saying, that he (the bishop) *absolutely excludes from the appellation of christians all who are not within the pale of his church.* If such a passage can be pointed out, the bishop will be the first to condemn it: since, so far from *embracing this opinion, as an article of his faith*, he holds the doctrine directly contrary to it to be that of his church, to which he and all Catholics are bound to submit;

and which Catholics have constantly maintained, in opposition to the tenets of some pretended reformers. But to remove more effectually the impression, which the assertions of *Liberal* may have made on those who have not seen the bishop's pastoral letter, (and few, but Catholics, for whom alone it was intended, have seen it) some copies shall be left, to be disposed of, at Mr. Angell's printing office.

"Here it was intended to have made a conclusion, but *Liberal* having quaintly introduced the term *aristocrats*, the bishop would fain ask whether it was done to raise a hue and cry against the episcopal office, by bringing into use amongst us that invidious and misapplied appellation, which has caused a ferocious mob to disgrace the character of a most humane people, and has let them loose on such men as La Fayette and the venerable Rochefoucauld? If such be the intention of *Liberal*, he had better transport himself to a country where he may meet congenial souls; America, I trust, has too much regard for justice, and understands too well the principles of religious equality,

to obey his impulse, or catch the contagion of his spirit.

"The subject of this contention is so trifling in itself, and it affords so much room for ridicule, that, if *Liberal* take up his pen again, he must appear with something more material to engage the farther attention of

"JOHN, *Bishop of Baltimore.*

"November 21, 1792."

Shortly after the death of the archbishop, a writer in the Democratic Press of Philadelphia indulged himself in some commentaries upon the obnoxious title, which had been used in designating the deceased, in the short obituary notice that was published in the Baltimore papers upon that lamentable occasion; mingling, however, with his strictures expressions of great respect and veneration for his character and memory. That writer might have seen, if he wished it, in the steps which had led to the appointment of a Catholic bishop for the United States, how groundless were his alarms, and decided proof, likewise, that the Roman Catholic clergy are no less actuated than the clergy of any other religious persuasion in the United States, by a just and liberal respect

and regard for the institutions and laws of this country.

Desirous of impressing upon our readers a conviction of the liberality of the bishop, and of presenting to them the real and orthodox views of the Roman Catholic Church on the all-important subject of spiritual and temporal jurisdiction, we make a brief extract from one of his pastoral letters, dated Baltimore, February 22, 1797.

He says on this subject that: "It has been always the uniform endeavor of the open and secret enemies of the Catholic Church to represent the spiritual supremacy of Christ's vicar in the most odious light; and I was not surprised to hear that the turbulent men who foment the present disturbances have declared themselves independent of it, as of *a foreign jurisdiction.* By using these words they not only manifest the spirit by which they are governed, but they hope to render obnoxious to our fellow-citizens an essential tenet of our religion, and all of us who profess it; a tenet, which is the bond of our union; which cements and keeps together, in the profession of the same faith, in the celebration of the same solemn and public

worship, and under one uniform government established by Jesus Christ and perpetuated by succeeding pastors, so many different nations, so different from each other, and unconnected in every other respect.

"There would indeed be a foundation for the reproach intended by the words, *foreign jurisdiction*, if we acknowledge in the successor of St. Peter, any power or prerogative which clashed in the least degree with the duty we owe to our country, or its laws. To our country we owe allegiance, and the tender of our best services and property, when they are necessary for its defence; to the vicar of Christ, we owe obedience in things *purely spiritual*. Happily, there is no competition, in their respective claims on us, nor any difficulty in rendering to both the submission which they have a right to claim. Our country commands and enforces by outward coercion, the services which tend to the preservation and defence of that personal security, and of that property, for the sake of which political societies were formed, and men agreed to live under the protection of, and in obedience to civil government. The vicar of Christ, as visible head of his church,

watches over the integrity and soundness of doctrine and makes use of means and weapons, that act only on the souls of men, to enforce the duties of religion, the purity of worship, and ecclesiastical discipline."

Such were the doctrines, as declared by its first bishop in this country, of the Roman Catholic Church, and such are those now entertained by the entire clergy and laity of that communion. And we cannot see any thing therein, which should induce others to look upon its members as suspicious and unsafe citizens, or doubt for a moment that their Catholic brethren, in the day of need, under the guidance and injunctions of their creed and ministers, will be found as ready and anxious to defend and support by word and deed, the beloved institutions of their own free land, as were their Catholic ancestors who fought and bled in the cause of American independence.

The talents that distinguished and the zeal in the service of virtue and religion which had marked his conduct in all former situations, were an abundant pledge of the wisdom and edification of his course, in the arduous and difficult career upon which he

had now entered, as bishop of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States; and we may venture to say that never was pledge better redeemed or the high expectations of a numerous society more fully realised.

The whole tenor of his life having been illustrated by acts of consummate virtue, regulated by a spirit of liberality, conciliation and charity, his administration of the diocess of Baltimore perfectly corresponded, and was in unison, with his former course. Although considerably advanced in life, he visited once almost every quarter of his diocess, comprehending the whole extent of the United States, and every year made fatiguing journies through parts of it,—to form a correct and candid estimate of the characters and fitness of the several pastors,—to examine into the state and condition of the various congregations under their charge, to administer to the members composing them the sacrament of confirmation, and to bestow upon and leave with all his cordial benedictions.

Every year likewise the theological school at Baltimore, and the college at Georgetown, those two objects of his warmest attachment and special care, furnished new candidates

for holy orders, and zealous clergymen, by which new laborers were constantly added to the vineyard that under Providence, had become extensively planted through the United States by his piety and exertions; and which continued to be successfully cultivated, through his wise and prudent management.

Every year these two excellent institutions prosperously went on, enlarging the sphere of their usefulness, and sending forth pupils thoroughly prepared for the struggles of life, and imbued with a rational and deep attachment to their native country and its institutions, thus carrying sweet consolation to the heart of the prelate, who had founded and watched over their welfare, and effecting the object which was so near and dear to him, of rendering the Catholic youth of this republic independent of the old world, by bringing the means of improvement and instruction within the reach of all.

Whilst busily occupied in the more active and important duties of his station, our zealous prelate lost no opportunity of defending his church from the attacks made upon it by those who saw its increase with sorrow and

envy. From many articles circulated through the prints of the day, we select the following additional proof, if more be required, of the sincere liberality of their writer.

Addressing the editors of the Columbian Magazine, he says: "I purchase and read your magazine, when convenient, because I wish well to every undertaking for the advancement of useful knowledge amongst my countrymen. But I am sorry to find that some of your correspondents endeavor to render your work the vehicle of disingenuity, and to taint it with the poison of religious rancor. They care not, it seems, how much they misrepresent facts and doctrines, provided they can bring disrepute on the party, which they have devoted to contempt. Perhaps they may have further views, and wish to renew the days of intolerance. One of them sends you a fabricated history of Cardinal Tusloue, who never existed, and which you inserted in a former magazine; this history he enriched with inflammatory comments; but he had neither justice nor candor enough to undeceive your readers by informing them that the whole was a malicious fable. I must waive ceremony so far, as to

remind you, that you come in yourself for a share of this blame. For having published so false a relation, it became you to correct your mistake, after you found that it was contradicted in the foreign prints, which suggested the first lines of invention to your improving correspondent. A very small part of your monthly miscellany is devoted to the article of *News*, and for this you are commendable: we can readily refer to other collections for that commodity. But when you condescend to relate events of modern times, you might once in a month, make selection of a few articles of undoubted credit, and general importance, and not deal out the malicious and mischief-making forgeries of persecuting Europeans. Thanks to the genuine spirit of christianity, the United States have banished intolerance from their systems of government, and many of them have done the justice to every denomination of christians, which ought to be done to them in all, of placing them on the same footing of citizenship, and conferring an equal right of participation in national privileges—freedom and independence—acquired by the united efforts, and cemented with the mingled blood

of Protestant and Catholic fellow-citizens, should be equally enjoyed by all. The Jersey state was the first, which in forming her new constitution gave the unjust example of reserving to Protestants alone the prerogatives of government and legislation. At that very time the American army swarmed with Roman Catholic soldiers, and the world would have held them justified, had they withdrawn themselves from the defence of a state which treated them with so much cruelty and injustice, and which they then actually covered from the depredations of the British army. But their patriotism was too disinterested to hearken to the first impulse of even just resentment. They could not believe that the state which was foremost to injure them, would continue, or that any others would imitate her partial and iniquitous policy. It seems they were not acquainted with the bitter spirit which dictated the unjustifiable exclusion; they trusted to the wise and generous sentiment which pervaded every corner of the American continent. For who that remembers our cordial unanimity in rejecting the claims of foreign oppression, could imagine that any of us

would impose on fellow-soldiers and citizens the degraded mark of distrust or galling yoke of inferiority? Such, however, was the treatment they found, not because they were less warm or less profuse of their blood in defence of our common rights; but because the authors of this injustice who could resent and oppose British counsels, levelled against their own rights of legislation, wanted the greater fortitude of emancipating their minds from a slavish subjection to the prejudices imbibed during a narrowed British education."

It was in consequence of the declaration of such enlarged sentiments, common to him and his fellow Catholics, that he wrote and forwarded to the father of his country, the following address, clothed with the signature of some of the leading members of his church, honorable alike to its object and to those from whom it emanated:

"*To George Washington, President of the U. States:*

"THE ADDRESS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLICS.

"SIR:—We have been long impatient to testify our joy and unbounded confidence, on your being called by a unanimous vote, to

the first station of a country, in which that unanimity could not have been obtained, without the previous merit of unexampled services, of eminent wisdom and unblemished virtue. Our congratulations have not reached you sooner because our scattered situation prevented the communication and the collecting of those sentiments which animated every breast. But the delay has furnished us with the opportunity, not purely of presaging the happiness to be expected under your administration, but of bearing testimony to that which we experience already. It is your peculiar talent, in war and in peace, to afford security to those who commit their protection into your hands. In war, you shield them from the ravages of armed hostility: in peace, you establish public tranquillity by the justice and moderation not less than by the vigor of your government. By example as well as by vigilance, you extend the influence of laws on the manners of our fellow-citizens. You encourage respect for religion, and inculcate by words and actions, that principle on which the welfare of nations so much depends, that a superintending Providence governs the events of the world, and watches

over the conduct of men. Your exalted maxims and unwearied attention to the moral and physical improvement of our country, have produced already the happiest effects. Under your administration America is animated with zeal for the attainment and encouragement of useful literature; she improves her agriculture, extends her commerce, and acquires with foreign nations a dignity unknown to her before. From these happy events, in which none can feel a warmer interest than ourselves, we derive additional pleasure in recollecting that you, sir, have been the principal instrument to effect so rapid a change in our political situation. This prospect of national prosperity is peculiarly pleasing to us on another account, because whilst our country preserves her freedom and independence, we shall have a well founded title to claim from her justice equal rights of citizenship, as well the price of our blood spilt under your eyes, and of our common exertions for her defence, under your auspicious conduct; rights rendered more dear to us, by the remembrance of former hardships. When we pray for the preservation of them, where they have been

granted, and expect the full extension of them from the justice of those states which still restrict them; when we solicit the protection of Heaven over our common country, we neither omit, nor can omit recommending your preservation to the singular care of Divine Providence; because we conceive that no human means are so available to promote the welfare of the United States, as the prolongation of your health and life, in which are included the energy of your example, the wisdom of your counsels, and the persuasive eloquence of your virtues."

This eloquent and well deserved tribute was signed by John Carroll, in behalf of the Roman Catholic clergy, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Daniel Carroll, Thomas Fitzsimmons and Dominick Lynch, in behalf of the Roman Catholic laity.

Shortly after his installation the bishop received a letter from a tribe of Indians, about four hundred in number, the remains and descendents of some who had been converted to christianity, and formed under the French missionaries, residing on the confines of Massachusetts, Canada and Nova Scotia, praying earnestly for clergymen. Having sent to

Europe for two French priests, who were to go and reside amongst them, he transmitted to them, through a Mr. Allen, the following letter:

"BALTIMORE, *Sept.* 6, 1791.

"MR. JOHN ALLEN:

"*Sir*,—Your favor of May 21st, with a postscript of the 23d, was not received before the 27th of August. I am infinitely obliged to you for your great attention, goodness and charity, in forwarding to me the speech of the Indians of whom you bear so favorable a testimony. My duty and inclination concur in urging me to use my utmost and earliest endeavors to procure them the help which they so earnestly solicit, and letters are gone already for that purpose. I shall be much mistaken, as well as disappointed, if those letters produce not the effect desired; but some delay must be looked for—the clergymen destined for this business are now in Europe, and cannot come, I fear, before the spring. But when they do come, they will, I am confident, give satisfaction. I say clergymen, because many reasons have induced me to send for two. This will not

increase the charge of the Indians, at least not for some years to come—when they will be better able to bear it, as their number will be probably greater. I had not the least knowledge of this tribe of Indians till, at a late visit to Boston, I saw a letter respecting them from you to the Rev. Mr. Thayer.

"Their attachment to the exercises of religion, notwithstanding their long deprivation of its public functions, their innocent lives and their care to instruct their children, are strong proofs of the deep impression made on their minds, and as you justly observe, do great credit to their former French pastor and missionary. My happiness will be great, if those whom I shall expect next spring, will walk in the footsteps of their predecessors. Conformably to your advice I sent back the crucifix, and in addition to all your other kindnesses, request you to be so good as to explain my letter to them. Your services entitle you to all their confidence, and I have made it my duty to acknowledge myself with great esteem and respect, sir,

"Your most obd't and humble serv't,

"† JOHN, *Bishop of Baltimore.*"

"*Brethren and Beloved Children in Jesus Christ:*

"I received with the greatest pleasure the testimony of your attachment to your holy religion; and I venerated the sacred crucifix sent by you as expressive of your faith.

"*Brethren and Children:*

"I embrace you with the affection of a father, and am exceedingly desirous to procure for you a worthy teacher and minister of God's holy sanctuary, who may administer to your young people, to your sons and daughters, the sacrament of baptism; may instruct them and you in the law of God, and the exercises of a christian life; may reconcile you to your Lord and Maker after all your transgressions; and may perform for your women after child-bearing the rites ordained by the Church of Christ.

"*Brethren and Beloved Children:*

"As soon as I received your request, and was informed of your necessity, I sent for one or two virtuous and worthy priests to go and remain with you—that you may never more be reduced to the same distressful situation, in which you have lived so long. But as they are far distant, I am

afraid they will not be with you before the putting out of the leaves again. This should have been done much sooner, if I had been informed of your situation. You may depend upon it, that you shall be always in my heart, and in my mind; and if it please God to give me time, I will certainly visit you myself.

"*Brethren and Beloved Children:*

"I trust in that good God, who made us all, and in his blessed Son, Jesus Christ, who redeemed us, that all the Indians, northward and eastward, will be made partakers of the blessing which my desire is to procure for you; and I rejoice very much, that you and they wish to be united to your brethren, the Americans. You have done very well, not to receive amongst you those ministers who go without being called or sent by that authority which Jesus Christ has established for the government of this Church. Those whom I shall send to you, will be such good and virtuous priests as instructed your forefathers in the law of God, and taught them to regard this life only as a preparation for, and a passage to a better life in heaven.

"In token of my fatherly love and sincere

affection, I send back to you, after embracing it, the holy crucifix which I received with your letter, and I enclose it in a picture of our holy father, the pope, the head on earth, under Christ, of our divine religion; and this, my answer, is accompanied likewise with nine medals, representing our divine Lord, Jesus Christ, and his Most Holy Mother. I desire that these may be received by the chiefs of the river St. John, Passamaquoddy, and Michmacs, who signed the address to me. They came from and have received the blessing of our same holy father, the vicar of Jesus Christ in the government of his Church.

"That the blessing of God may come down upon you, your women and children, and remain forever, is the earnest prayer of your loving father, friend and servant in Christ,

"† JOHN, *Bishop of Baltimore.*

"*Baltimore, Sept.* 6, 1791."

In October of this year, in a letter to his English correspondent, the bishop informs him of some of the steps that were about to be taken to secure the progress and perpetuation of his see in this country.

"On the 7th of next month our clergy are to meet here in a diocesan synod. Then we shall discuss the mode of preserving the succession to the episcopacy of the United States. Instead of a coadjutor, I am much inclined to solicit a division of my diocess and the creation of another bishoprick. One only objection, of much weight, retards my determined resolution in favor of this scheme, and that is, that previous to such a step, a uniform discipline may be established in all parts of this great continent; and every measure so firmly concerted, that as little danger as possible may remain of a disunion with the holy see. I am very fearful of this event taking place in succeeding time unless it be guarded against by every prudential precaution. Our distance, though not so great if geometrically measured, as South America, Goa and China, yet in a political light is much greater. South America, and the Portuguese possessions in Africa and Asia, have through their metropolitical countries, an intermediate connexion with Rome; and the missionaries in China are almost all Europeans. But we have no European metropolis, and our clergy soon will be neither

Europeans nor have European connexions. Then will be the danger of a propension to a schismatical separation from the centre of unity. But the Founder of the Church sees all these things, and can provide the remedy. After doing what we can, we must commit the rest to his Providence."

In another letter, about a year subsequent to the foregoing, he gives his views upon the same subject in the following terms:

"I have written to Rome, recommending and requesting the erection of another diocess in the United States: this, I hope, will be granted; if not, I press for the grant of a coadjutor. To avoid giving offence to our own government, it is proposed to the Propaganda to allow the ten oldest clergymen here, and five others to be nominated by myself, to be the electors of the new bishop, ordinary or coadjutor. But in my solicitude to provide for a close and intimate union with the holy see, I desire that if the grant be made agreeably to request, it may be under the express condition of reserving a right in the holy see, to reject the person elected, as long as one be not elected perfectly agreeable to it.

"I am, I own, principally solicitous to form establishments which will be lasting. To pass through a village, where a Roman Catholic clergyman was never seen before; to borrow of the parson the use of his meeting-house or church, in order to preach a sermon; to go or send about the village, giving notice at every house, that a priest is to preach at a certain house, and there to enlarge on the doctrines of our Church; this is a mode adopted by some amongst us for the propagation of religion. But I would rather see a priest fixed for a continuance in the same place, with a growing congregation under him, than twenty such itinerant preachers. The only effect which I have seen from these, is to make people gaze for a time, and say that the preacher is a good or a bad one; but as soon as he is gone on his way, to think no more about him."

Having been invited by the unanimous resolution of congress in common with the clergy of all denominations and congregations of Christians throughout the United States, to commemorate the character and services of General Washington, who was now no more, he delivered, on the 22d of

February, 1800, to a crowded audience in the Catholic church of St. Peter's at Baltimore, a discourse which will be found admirably adapted throughout, in the language and sentiments, to the character of the distinguished individual who was the subject of it.

Having been, through the whole contest between Great Britain and America, an attentive observer of its varying and eventful incidents, perhaps no person in the United States better understood its history, or had formed a more correct estimate of the characters and conduct of those who were engaged in it than himself, as well from the natural candor and discriminating powers of his mind, as from the dispassionate view which his situation and circumstances enabled him thus to take of the whole subject; and it may be affirmed with truth, that the commander in chief of the American armies, had not any where a more ardent admirer of his conduct than he was.

Independently of these circumstances, there was a singular propriety in his offering, as he did, on the melancholy occasion referred to, the tribute of respect, to the memory, and of well deserved eulogium, upon the character

of that illustrious hero and statesman, from the double consideration that his comprehensive and enlarged mind qualified him for the task, if that of any individual in the United States were equal to it, and that as he was at the head of a numerous religious community, second to none in patriotism and exertions during the revolutionary war, in the common cause of their country, he was the natural and appropriate organ of their feelings and sentiments upon that occasion.

It was in speaking of this address, that Mr. Robert Walsh uses the following strong and descriptive language:

"We have heard from some of the most intelligent and observant of his auditors, when he delivered his masterly funeral panegyric on Washington, in which he recited the terrors, the encouragements, the distresses, and the glories of the struggle for independence, that he appeared to be laboring under intense emotions correspondent to those topics—to be swayed like the aged minstrel of the poet, with contagious influences, by the varied strains which he uttered."

The following verses were written "*on reading Archbishop Carroll's Eulogium on General Washington.*"

"Sweet is the voice of praise
E'en when youthful tongues,
Impell'd by loyal hearts and wond'ring minds,
With virtuous zeal applaud the brave or wise:
But sweeter far and dearer to the soul
Of the high warrior or the sage profound,
Is the eulogium of a holy man,
Whose reverend years and sanctity disdain
A worldly motive for the fame he gives."

DISCOURSE.

"When the death of men distinguished by superior talents, high endowments, and eminent services to their country, demands the expression of public mourning and grief, their loss is accompanied, generally, with this mitigation, that however grievous and painful, it is not irreparable; and that the void caused by their mortality will, perhaps, be filled up by others, uniting equal abilities with the same zeal and watchfulness for the general welfare. Hope then wipes off the tears, with which sorrow bedews the grave of departed worth. But on the present occasion, no such consolation can be administered;

for he, whose expectations are most sanguine, dares not promise again to his country the union of so many splendid and useful virtues as adorned that illustrious man, whose memory excites our grateful and tender sensibility, and to whose tomb the homage of his country is to be solemnly offered on this day. Whether we consult our own experience, by bringing into comparison with Washington any of our cotemporaries, most eminent for their talents, virtues and services, or whether we search through the pages of history, to discover in them a character of equal fame, justice and truth will acknowledge that he stands supereminent and unrivalled in the annals of mankind, and that no one before him, acting in such a variety of new and arduous situations, bore with him to the grave a reputation as clear from lawless ambition, and as undefiled by injustice or oppression: a reputation, neither depressed by indolence, nor weakened by irresolution, nor shadowed by those imperfections, which seemed to be the essential appendages of human nature, till Providence exhibited in Washington this extraordinary phenomenon.

"What language can be equal to the excellence of such a character? what proportion can exist between eloquence and the tribute of praise, due to so much virtue? Nevertheless, my fellow-citizens, I read in the eargerness of your attention, your desire to offer this tribute. Methinks I hear your filial piety, your tender reverence for your best friend, the father of his country, calling on me to bear for you, at least, a feeble testimony of your unextinguishable gratitude for his services, your immortal remembrance of, and veneration for his virtues. In your name, therefore, I presume to add some grains of incense to the homage, which throughout the United States every friend to their happiness now presents at the shrine of Washington. Pardon, O departed spirit of the first of heroes! if with the cold accents of an exhausted imagination, I likewise dare attempt to celebrate thy name, whilst so many sons of genius, ardent in youthful vigor, delineate in glowing colors the vivid features of thy mind, and the glorious deeds of thy virtuous life. With unequal steps, I venture on the same career, not seeking to add lustre to the fame of Washington, or perpetuate his

memory to future times; for he is already enshrined in the records of immortality; but humbly hoping, that a recital of his services will open to our countrymen the road to true honor, and kindle in their breasts the warmth of generous emulation and real patriotism. To contribute in this manner to the best interests of his beloved country, will be to him the most gratifying commendation, if in the regions of immortality, human affairs still claim a share of his solicitude.

"The language uniformly held by Washington, the maxim invariably inculcated and repeated by him in almost every public manifestation of his sentiments, was the acknowledgment of a superintending Providence, preparing, regulating and governing all human events, for the accomplishment of its eternal purposes, and predisposing the instruments by which they are to be effected. Religion and observation had taught him that God's provident wisdom *reacheth from end to end mightily and disposeth all things sweetly.* Wis. viii. He contemplated with christian piety, and the philosophy of a sage, the most remarkable revolutions and occurrences of former, as well as his own times,

and learned therefrom to refer every human event to the moral government of a supreme intelligent Being. This became the polar star, by which he was guided in his progress through life, and in all his anxious solicitude for maintaining the liberty, perfecting the policy, preserving the peace, insuring the stability of his country on the foundations of order and morality, and guarding it against the turbulence of faction, licentiousness, foreign hostility and artifice.

"This virtuous maxim of religious, moral and political wisdom, so deeply impressed on him, never perhaps was more illustrated, than by the course of Providence in preparing and adapting his body and mind to suit the destinies of his life. He was to himself a luminous proof of that truth, which was so rooted in his soul.

"That infinite knowledge, which in its comprehensive range through the whole extent of creation, embraces the future, no less distinctly, than past and present contingencies, beheld the period approaching, when this vast portion of America, now constituting the United States,—this country spread through so many climates,—so diversified in its pro-

ductions,—so abundant in natural resources, —so benefited by land and water,—so admirably calculated for the employment of industry, and for affording subsistence to millions and millions, was to break the bonds of its ancient connection with Great Britain, and emancipated from vassalage, elevate itself to the station of a great, and powerful empire!

"A convulsion so violent in the political system of Europe and America, involved the demolition of deeply rooted habits and opinions. The associations arising out of consanguinity, habitual intercourse, unity of government, identity of laws, language and religion, were to be melted down, before that wonderful revolution could be completed. A new people unconscious before of their own strength, were to feel in their physical and moral energies the ripeness of manhood. Accustomed to respect the nation, with which they would have to contend, as irresistible in arms, and inexhaustible in resources, they must dare nevertheless to make the vigorous effort, and conceive a reliance on their own native strength. Powerful interests, the necessary effects of long estab-

lished government, would naturally counteract every tendency towards its downfall; but these interests were to be resisted by force, and borne down by the enthusiastic ardor of patriotism.

"To superintend the movements and operations of such a revolution: to control during its progress, jealousies, enmities, suspicions and other conflicting passions; and from their collision, to educe national and individual prosperity, peace, order, liberty and regular government, required the discernment and masterly contrivance of that Supreme Director and Artist, who unites together the links, and holds in his hands the chain of all human events. Contemplating, as much as is allowed to feeble mortals, his divine agency in preparing the means and conducting the progress of the American revolution, we may presume to say, that heaven impressed a character on the life of Washington, and a temper on his soul, which eminently qualified him to bear the most conspicuous part, and be its principal instrument in accomplishing this stupendous work.

We trace as far back as to his early youth, the evidences of this Providential interposi-

tion. Born in times and circumstances unfavorable to the spirit and exertions of bold enterprize, he however soon devoted himself to useful and active exercises. He disdained the inglorious ease and ignoble pursuits, which fettered or perverted the talents of his young countrymen, inactive, not through choice, but wanting objects and encouragement. To deliver Washington from the danger of contracting similar habits, he was inspired to embrace the hardy discipline of difficult and perilous labors, which added vigor to his constitution, and a robustness to his nerves, that never after shrunk from danger. Following the instinct of his towering genius, he had not reached the years of manhood, when he was engaged in enterprizes pregnant with terror, and presenting to his view objects of a most formidable aspect. He did not however enter on them with thoughtless temerity. At that early period he began, what he persisted in through life, to associate motives of public utility with magnanimous undertakings. The usual occupations of his young countrymen were not sufficient employment for his active mind; he therefore turned his views

towards that vast western region, now so familiar to our ears and acquaintance, but then known only by the terrors it inspired, and the cruelties practised by the savage Indians, lurking in its forests and recesses. He left the endearments of society, to explore the courses of rivers, to traverse plains and mountains far beyond the then inhabited frontiers; hoping to discover sources, whence future opulence might flow to his country,—to examine the productions, and estimate the fertility of immense tracts, capable of rewarding the industry of thousands, pining in want and oppression in foreign lands; whose descendants might people the wilderness, beautify it by cultivation, and multiply the resources of his native province. In these achievements, the heroic youth was to inure himself to hunger and thrist, to lie on the damp earth without any covering but the spreading branches of the oak and the canopy of the heavens; to accustom himself to the vicissitudes of the seasons, the parching heat and chilling frost; to herd with the beasts of the forest; to be exposed to the tomahawk and scalping knife; to be surrounded by difficulties, yet never to be disheartened; to meet at

every step the image of death, without ever being appalled, or admitting a momentary sentiment of dispair.

"Imagine not, my fellow-citizens, that this is an ideal and fanciful representation of Washington's youthful years. No! it is faintly, but truly copied from real scenes of his life. Who, on the wing of imagination, has followed him, clambering over the lofty western mountains, fording unfathomed and rapid rivers, exposing his invaluable life to innumerable accidents of treachery and hostility, without shuddering for his existence, and admiring his cool, collected courage, in conquering obstacles, and surmounting danger? Such was the training and education, by which Providence prepared him for the fulfilment of his future destinies.

"Far different from this, were the motives which urged the youth of Sparta and Rome to encounter toils of danger and opposition. They obeyed the institutions of their country! they were stimulated by the goad of aspiring ambition, and a desire of acquiring that false glory, which, in the erroneous opinions of their cotemporaries attached itself to the men, who carried devastation and

carnage into the bowels of neighboring nations. With better views, and superior courage, Washington penetrated into the inhospitable confines of the savage Indian, that he might render them the abodes of peace, and introduce into their bosom the improvements of civilization. So successfully the guardian angel of this chosen youth, ministering to the designs of Providence, had infused already into his soul the sweet spirit of benevolence, together with heroical fortitude.

"For him it was decreed, in the progression of his life, to defend, and ultimately to establish, by just and necessary warfare, the liberties of his country. Providence therefore permitted a train of occurrences to ensue, which served to furnish his mind with the first rudiments of military science, and discipline him to the vigilance and profession of a soldier. At that time, two powerful European nations held North America in their subjection; their territories bordered on each other, and each claimed rights, disallowed by its rival power. One of these, France, sent out a military force and her Indian allies, to occupy posts deemed to be

within the territory of Virginia, and contiguous to the stations selected by Washington, as best adapted to the protection of his native land; for his intrepidity and local knowledge had already placed him at the head of a small body of his countrymen, collected together to stop the progress of the invaders. With those he covered the inhabitants from hostile encroachment, he won the confidence of the savage Indian, and conducted a dangerous and intricate negotiation for a suspension of hostilities.

"But the durable preservation of peace depended not on the counsels of America; England and France transported their enmity to her shores, and covered our country with hostile array. England, confident of her prowess and the discipline of her armies, would not commit the defence of her interests to raw provincials. Washington's ardent soul suffered him not to remain behind in safety, while the security of his country was at stake. The hand of Providence lead him forward, that he might add to his experience and native fortitude. He fought under Braddock; and that ill-fated commander having paid by his death the tribute

of his rashness—his army, dispirited by defeat, and flying before an enemy flushed with victory—Washington, in that perilous moment, gathered round him his first companions in arms, and rescued out of the jaws of death, the remains of the vanquished battallions. He did more; he stood in the front of danger, and every where opposing himself to the merciless savages, ready to burst as a dark cloud, fraught with the thunderbolts of heaven, on a terrified land, he averted the storm, and restored to his trembling country the serenity of hope and peace.

"The theatre of war was transported afterwards to distant provinces of America. Then the same all-wise Providence, which had inured him to danger, prepared him for the toils of government, and the important duty of superintending in his riper years, the political administration of a great and widely extended people. His services in the field had won the confidence of his fellow-citizens; they committed to his vigilance and integrity their highest interests in their legislative assembly. In this school he perfected himself in the knowledge of mankind; he observed

the contentions of parties, the artifices and conflicts of human passions; he saw the necessity of curbing them by salutary restraints, he studied the complicated science of legislation, he learned to venerate the sanctity of laws, to esteem them as the palladium of civil society, and deeply imbibed this maxim, so important for the soldier and the statesman, and which he ever after made the rule of his conduct, that the armed defenders of their country would break up the foundations of social order and happiness, if they availed themselves of the turbulence of war, to violate the rights of private property and personal liberty.

"Thus Washington, during the interval of peace, stored his mind with the treasures of political wisdom. The time was approaching for him to expend those treasures on his country's welfare.

"I need not recapitulate the origin of the discontents between Great Britain and her American dependencies. Suffice it to say, that America received the claims of the parent country, as incompatible with her freedom and happiness. The great soul of Washington revolted at the idea of national

degradation; but tempering his ardor with deliberate wisdom, he associated with other sages of his country, to meditate on her new and critical situation.

"Here let us pause, fellow citizens, to contemplate this exalted man revolving in his breast the natural and social rights of human kind: comparing those with actual and impending grievances, and with the obligations of an allegiance due to a long established government. Had lawless ambition reigned in his breast, he would have decided the public voice for immediate hostility. But in this point also, Providence destined him to leave a memorable and salutary example. He was not dazzled by the prospect of being elevated to the chief command of the military force of America. In his opinion, nothing could justify a recurrence to the sword, and a revolt from established authority, but extreme necessity. All resonable means of redress should be tried, before a good citizen will dissolve the fabric of government, and expose a people to the convulsive shocks of a revolution, the explosions of which no considerate man can promise himself to regulate, or foresee their termination.

"A reflection here forces itself upon my mind, which I ought not to withhold from my respectable auditors. Would to God, that the principal authors and leaders of the many revolutions, through which unhappy France has passed in the course of a few years—would to God, that they had been influenced by a morality as pure and enlightened as that of Washington, and his associates in the first congress! What scenes of carnage and cruelty! what private woes and public calamity would have been spared to that ill-fated country!—and how sacred and venerable would have still remained to it the sanctuary of religion!

"Washington and his colleagues obeying at the same time the dictates of patriotism and the duty of allegiance, represented their wrongs to their sovereign and claimed their rights. On the event of their remonstrance, depended the redress of their grievances; or, if no redress followed, their justification for standing on their defence. Britain would not relent, and all that remained to America, was submission or resistance. The election was soon made: every one prepared himself for the awful contest, and all eyes and hopes

were turned towards Washington. With universal approbation he was summoned to place himself in the front of danger, and assume supreme military command. The possession of such a citizen at a moment so critical, was an invaluable treasure, and an animating presage of the favorable issue of the great contest.

"But far other thoughts absorbed his attention. Modest, as he was eminent in valor and wisdom, he contemplated with mingled emotions of self-diffidence and generous resolution, the important stake placed in his hands; the subjection or independence: the vassalage or freedom of an immense territory, destined to be the habitation of countless millions. When therefore, in obedience to the voice of his country, he placed himself at the head of her army, the expressions of his dependence on Providence should never be forgotten. Claiming no personal merit, apprehensive of injuring the public interest through some misconduct; yet trusting to the justice of his cause, and conscious of the purity of his motives, he called upon his fellow citizens to remember that he depended for success, not

on his own military skill, but on the God of battles, to whom he made his solemn appeal.

" Washington, now at a period of his highest elevation, drew on him the attention, not only of this western continent, but of every European nation. O fellow citizens! what days and years of anxious disquietude revolved over us, whilst we gazed on this splendid luminary, uncertain whether it would shed on its country the effulgence of victory and peace, crowned by liberty; or whether its brightness would be shadowed by the clouds of disaster and defeat!

" Here language fails: I dare not, I cannot follow the heroic Washington in the career of his military glory. To baffle the stratagems of the ablest generals, to repel the onset of the bravest and best disciplined armies, what had America to place in his hands?—neither soldiers trained to arms, nor accustomed to subordination; nor the implements of war, nor the treasures to purchase them. But the genius of the commander finally supplied every deficiency. He introduced order and discipline: inspired love and confidence; and with these auxiliaries, he kept together unclothed and unpaid armies,

which, under other generals, would perhaps have demanded justice at the point of their bayonets. Always vigilant to foil hostile attempts, he exhausted the resources of the enemy, without suffering them to force him to action. Tender of the blood of his fellow soldiers, and never exposing their lives without cause, or prospect of advantage, humanity was as dear to him as victory; as his enemies, that fell into his power, always experienced. When a decree of retaliation became necessary to restrain their licentious excesses, with what delicacy, without the least abatement of fortitude, did he save the life of the victim, devoted to atone for the cruelty that had been committed on an American officer!—not however, till he had compelled the opposing general to restrain and disavow outrages, that aggravate so much the necessary evils of war. How sacred was his respect to the civil authority! how effectual his protection of the property of his fellow citizens! When the generous feelings of the virtuous and beneficent Lewis, whose deplorable fate should draw tears of blood from every American heart, sent out his nobles and legions, to combat by his side,

the dignity of his manners and his unassuming merit, won their entire confidence: his integrity and conciliating spirit united, as a band of brothers, nations before unknown to each other, and totally different in manners, habits and religion. Their union, of which he was the soul, was a new omen of victory, and gained for America the prize for which she bled and contended: honorable peace and independence.

"What but unfading laurels remained now for Washington, after satisfying his honest ambition, and steering the vessel of the American Republic through so many storms, into the safe harbor of liberty and tranquillity? It remained for him to leave this important lesson to the chief of armies, vested with great commands; that magnanimity and true glory consist in laying their swords at their country's feet, when the object is attained, for which alone it was permitted to draw them. It remained for him, after abdicating public employments, to exhibit in the shade of retirement those private virtues which are the true foundations of national prosperity. Dutiful to this moral principle, Washington, before he left his army, stipu-

lated for no personal reward, and even refused all that could be offered; unmindful of himself, he was only solicitous to obtain for his faithful legions a generous and liberal acknowledgment of their constancy and valor. This being effected, as far as it depended on him, he resigned the insignia of his command to those, from whom he had received it, and resumed the rank of a private citizen, carrying with him into his domestic retreat, the esteem, respect and veneration, of an admiring world.

"Here the curtain drops, and seems to close forever from the public eye and public duty, this wonderful man. His country has no more right to disturb his calm repose; he has paid superabundantly her claim to his services. But the views of Providence over him are not yet completed; peace and independence are obtained, but to preserve them, experience soon made it manifest, that to invigorate with one spirit the vast mass of population throughout the United States, one general superintending government was essentially requisite, which saving the rights of all, should likewise be competent to command the services of all for the public weal;

to maintain order within, and to repel aggression from abroad, enforce the demands of justice, and diffuse over important national acts, dignity, energy, unity of design and execution. Washington's penetration soon discovered the want of such a government, and in a paternal, affectionate address to his countrymen, had bequeathed on them, as a legislator, his earnest recommendation for its establishment.

"Various causes delayed the execution of this necessary work, till the edifice of American independence, unsupported by its necessary pillars, was crumbling into ruin; then every friend to his country remembered Washington's fatherly advice, every patriotic hand was ready to prop up the tottering fabric. Wisdom and experience combined to blend in a republican form of government all the advantages, of which other forms are productive, without many of their evils. Our illustrious deliverer presided at the deliberations, which produced it; the American people besought him once more to quit his beloved retreat, and perfect a work, of which he had been the first founder and a principal architect. The earnestness of their

request overpowered his reluctant mind, he could not resist their unanimous wishes, nor could any personal dangers stand in competition with the advancement of general happiness. Yet how immense were his sacrifices! how perilous his hazards!—sacrifices known only to them, who having spent their best years in transactions, that kept every nerve on the stretch, are permitted in the evening of their days to taste of the calm repose of rural felicity, and the solace of domestic endearments. Disheartening was the prospect in venturing again on the agitated ocean of national responsibility. There existed not in the world a name so bright as his; no character stood on such lofty pre-eminence. Shall he expose these to the capricious fluctuations of popular opinion? Shall he embark the treasure of a reputation purchased by so many services, on a sea, sown thick with rocks of envy, pride and disappointment? These are sufficient to appal a heart less sublime, and less inflamed with genuine patriotism. But such considerations had no effect on him, and he took into his hands the helm of state.

" What were the effects of his administra-

tion? Are we not deceived by magical delusion? or is it the transformation which our senses witness, really effected? Have the United States risen from a lethargic, impoverished, degraded condition to activity, opulence and respect? Does the farmer receive a generous retribution for his industry? Does the merchant cover the seas with his ships, conveying to every clime the productions of our native soil? Does the public creditor obtain security and payment of his generous reliance on national faith? Does justice dispense her equitable awards to every suitor approaching her sanctuary? Do distant nations respect the counsels, and solicit the friendship of the United States? Are the natives of every land wafted to our shores, as to the refuge of peace, the residence of true liberty? Yes, fellow citizens, this is not delusion—these are the real effects and monuments of Washington's administration, yet it was thwarted and embarrassed by internal opposition and foreign intrigue. Scarce had we tasted of the sweets of peace, enlivened by industry and commerce, when attempts were made to ravish from us these inestimable blessings, and plunge us into the

horrors of war; not only of war, but of a war of that kind which, connecting our interests and fate with that of a country delivered up to anarchy and a prey to frantic outrageous passions, would have tended to extinguish amongst us the principles of morality, inflame us with the rage of innovation, intoxicate us with delusive, ruinous theories of government, and most probably, would have substituted them to that excellent constitution which is, and may it long continue to be, our pride and happiness! But thanks to thy immortal spirit, O ever dear and venerable father of thy country! thy wisdom discovered the approaching storm, and thy firmness baffled its violence; our peace and constitution remain to us unimpaired. No foreign influence dictated to the counsels of America. She increased in vigor, she rose in character, and by self-government, by keeping herself disentangled from the strifes of contending nations, she evinced herself worthy of her independence.

"After settling his country in this desirable state, Washington had fulfilled the destinies of that Providence which had formed him for the exalted purpose of diffusing the

choicest blessings over millions of men, and preparing the same for millions yet unborn. His wish to bury himself again in the shades of retirement, returned on him with redoubled force; to hide, if possible, his greatness from the world, and in the sweet repose of domestic life, diversified however by useful and honorable occupations, to forget his past glory. The last act of his supreme magistracy was to inculcate, in most impressive language, on his countrymen, or rather on his dearest children, this his deliberate and solemn advice; to bear incessantly in their minds, that nations and individuals are under the moral government of an infinitely wise and just Providence; that the foundations of their happiness are morality and religion, and their union amongst themselves their rock of safety; that to venerate their constitution and its laws is to insure their liberty. Then he took his tender farewell of public employments, devoting the remainder of his precious life to a commendable self-review of it, through all its vicissitudes and agitations, a review for which every wise man, knowing his accountability to a

Sovereign Judge, should allot time and make opportunity.

"After endeavoring thus far to satisfy our common duty to our illustrious deliverer, before I conclude, I am earnest, my fellow citizens, to leave impressed on you in strong characters, some principal features of his mind, and furnish you with short memorials of his most remarkable actions, hoping thereby to perpetuate your gratitude, and incite you to emulate his virtues. Happily, to supply my inability, I find this task executed, as it would seem, by the spirit of prophecy, and in the language of inspiration, in the eighth chapter of the Book of Wisdom, where the author's expressions need no comment to appropriate them to Washington. So striking the resemblance! so true is the picture! Here are the words of the inspired writer: 'I purposed,' says he, 'to take wisdom with me to live with me, knowing that she will communicate with me of her good things, and will be a comfort in my care; for her sake I shall have glory among the multitude, and honor with the ancient, though I am young; and I shall be admired in the sight of the mighty, and the faces of princes

shall wonder at me. By the means of her I shall have immortality, and shall leave behind me an everlasting memory to them that come after me. I shall set the people in order, and nations shall be subject to me. Terrible kings hearing, shall be afraid of me; among the multitude I shall be found good and valiant in war. When I go into my house, I shall repose myself with her, for her conversation hath no bitterness, nor her company any tediousness, but joy and gladness. Thinking these things with myself, and pondering them in my heart, that to be allied to wisdom, is immortality—I went about seeking that I might take her to myself.'

"In this picture, every stroke of the pencil exhibits traits of Washington. The early maturity of his judgment was the fruit of his youthful conferences with wisdom. She initiated him into her counsels, and procured for him love, respect, honor, confidence, authority and command: she enabled him to *set people in order* by good government, and an impartial, disinterested administration of it; and when, all public duties fulfilled, *he went to his house* to repose himself, no *tediousness* or *bitterness* mingled themselves in their

conversation, but *joy* and *gladness*, serenity of mind, and the pleasing prospect of conscious integrity.

"Providence having preserved and lengthened his days, that he might rear up his country in the infancy of her independence, suffered him now to withdraw himself from the disquietudes of government. He had infused the spirit of his administration into all its departments. His excellent successor inherited, not only the mantle of his office, but his wisdom, firmness and love of peace, subordinate only to a determination of never purchasing it at the price of national dishonor.

"Washington beheld from his retirement, as the Jewish legislator from the summit of Mount Phasga, the flourishing prosperity of his country. Health sweetened his repose and rural occupations: his body and mind retained their usual vigor. We flattered ourselves with the expectation of his continuing long to retain them: joy beamed in our hearts, when on every annual revolution we gratefully hailed this, his auspicious birthday. But, alas! how dark is the cloud, that now overshadows it! The songs of festivity

are converted into the throbs of mourning! The prayers of thanksgiving for his health and life changed into lamentations for his death! Who feels not for him, as for his dearest friend, his protector and his father? Whilst he lived, we seemed to stand on loftier ground, for breathing the same air, inhabiting the same country, and enjoying the same constitution and laws, as the sublime and magnanimous Washington. He was invested with a glory, that shed a lustre on all around him. For his country's safety, he often had braved death, when clad in her most terrific form: he had familiarized himself with her aspect; at her approaching to cut the thread of his life, he beheld her with constancy and serenity, and with his last breath, as we may believe from knowing the ruling passion of his soul, he called to heaven to save his country, and recommended it to the continual protection of that Providence, which he so reverently adored. May his prayer have been heard! May these United States flourish in pure and undefiled religion, in morality, peace, union and liberty, and the enjoyment of their excellent constitution, as long as respect, honor and veneration shall

gather around the name of Washington: that is, whilst there shall be any surviving record of human events."

Bishop Carroll, ever watchful for the welfare of his Church, and desirous of providing a fit edifice for the use and ornament of the metropolitan see, having by his exhortations and active zeal, prepared in part the means of effecting this realization of this great and leading undertaking of his declining years, commenced the present Cathedral at Baltimore, by laying the corner stone, on the 7th of July, 1806, with the appropriate pomp and ceremony. This large and imposing temple, although not yet finished, is worthy of its rank as the metropolitan church of the Roman Catholic faith in this country, and does great credit to its architect, B. H. Latrobe, Esq., under whose superintendence it was erected.

In the administration of his diocess, it had been the good fortune of our bishop to find zealous and worthy co-laborers in the cause of religion, and amongst these good and holy men, whose memory is preserved in the diocesses which they illustrated with their virtues, and extended by their enterprising ef-

forts, there is one prelate in particular whose association with the subject of our notice, was honorable to both, and productive of the greatest benefit to their Church in this country. Our readers will pardon us for making the following extracts from the "Life of Cardinal de Cheverus, archbishop of Bordeaux, by the Rev. J. Hone Dubourg," which interesting and able work has been translated in a masterly manner by Robert M. Walsh, Esq., of Philadelphia.

We begin with the arrival of this so much regretted luminary of the Church at Boston, in the year 1795, a few years after Bishop Carroll had entered upon the discharge of his duties, and beg the reader to observe how much these two good men resembled each other in their unobtrusive piety, christian humility, active zeal, and happy faculty of conciliating the good will of all who knew them of every denomination, and thus winning for their then misrepresented and despised religion, a liberal and respectful reception.

"His escape from death," says his biographer, "rendered M. de Cheverus still more eager to consecrate entirely to God the

days which his Providence had saved—the promptings of the zeal which called him to other lands became still more powerful. Whilst occupied with such thoughts he received a letter from the Abbé Matignon, a former professor in the Sorbonne whom he had known in Paris. This excellent clergyman, not less estimable for his piety than his talents, for his zeal than his prudence, was alone at Boston, where he had been placed by Mr. Carroll, the Bishop of Baltimore, who had then the whole United States under his ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and with the charge of the city, he had that also of the tribes of the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy Indians. Dismayed at the trust so much above the strength of a single individual, and still more at the hostility of more than thirty religious sects, all animated with the most violent hatred against what they termed *Papistry*, he was anxious to obtain an assistant to divide with him the heavy burden. The difficulty was to find a proper one; for every priest was not calculated for a country imbued with such prepossessions against the Catholic clergy. It was requisite to have a man of gentle virtue, of engaging manners,

of perfect disinterestedness, and cultivated intellect, who might be able to overcome prejudices, to secure affection, and to win consideration and esteem. After the fullest and most conscientious deliberation, it seemed to M. de Matignon, that the man he wanted was M. de Cheverus, whose rare merit, and delightful character he had appreciated when at the Sorbonne. He wrote to him therefore in 1795; depicted all the misfortunes of this neglected mission, pointed out to him a new church to be created, told him of Catholics spread over an immense surface without spiritual succor, and exposed to the danger of losing their faith; of savage tribes, to whom the light of the gospel might be carried—in short, mentioned every species of apostolical labor to be performed. How worthy of his zeal was not this boundless field! and in what quarter of the globe could his services be more useful to the Church!

"On the 3d of October, 1796, he arrived safely at Boston, where he was received by M. de Matignon as an angel sent from heaven to his aid. The good Abbé immediately informed Bishop Carroll of the happy event, asking him, at the same time, for the powers

requisite for the new missionary, whose testimonials he sent him. One from the Bishop of Dol, the other from the Bishop of Mans, both equally strong in their attestations to the purity of his faith, the fervor of his zeal, the warmth of his piety, his uncommon erudition, and perfect loyalty to his king and the head of the Church. Mr. Carroll was overjoyed at the intelligence of his arrival, and lost no time in investing him with all the powers requisite for his ministry."

We cannot refrain from bringing before our readers the following strongly drawn pictures of the state of public feeling in New England towards the Church of which he was so worthy a servant, upon the arrival of the zealous missionary at Boston, and of the wonderful change produced in its favor, by his edifying virtues, conciliating manners, and liberal doctrines, all of which met the approbation, and was rendered more striking and efficacious by the example and practice of Bishop Carroll, and the clergy under his control, throughout the United States.

"The whole country," says M. Dubourg, "and Boston in particular, inhabited by English colonies who had carried thither all the

prejudices of their father-land, was filled, as we have already mentioned, with a multitude of sects, all disagreeing among themselves in doctrine, but all united upon one single point,—hatred to the Catholic religion. The ministers of the various denominations never ceased declaiming against it, never ceased exhibiting it to the people as an impure mass of idolatries, and corrupt and despicable individuals, as the new Babylon cursed in the Apocalypse, as the enemy of God and man. Its doctrines were depicted as a hideous collection of impiety, absurdity, and error, its priests as vile impostors, to be avoided like a pestilence. These denunciations, so often repeated, had found credence, and taken root among all ranks of society, so that every where the name of Catholic was held in execration, a priest was regarded with horror, and the small number of the faithful who lived in that section, were objects of contempt or dislike, the more so that being almost all exiled Irishmen, they were poor, and in consequence, destitute of consideration."

Thus far the dark side of the picture, now for the bright!

"The esteem with which M. de Cheverus was regarded naturally extended itself to his congregation. It was not to be supposed that the flock of such a pastor could be as vile and despicable as they had been represented. Prejudice daily decreased, and the instructions of M. de Cheverus, together with the docility of the Catholics in conforming to them, soon dissipated it altogether. He often repeated to his hearers the lesson of the apostle, that those who speak ill of us should be silenced by means of charity, good works and holy example; that the characteristic of true piety is to be ever amiable, ever promoting the happiness of all around, to preserve towards all under every circumstance, a deportment alike respectful, kind and delicate. After their duties to their neighbors, he explained *those enjoined upon them towards the state; showed them the obligation of obeying the laws even when they might be avoided without incurring their penalties; of respecting the magistrates, of contributing to the good order, peace, and prosperity of the country, and should it be attacked, of employing force in its defence if required, and sacrificing fortune and life itself.* The Catholics listened to his

instructions, and put them in practice. Of the religious societies of Boston, they became one of the most distinguished for their justice, their charity, their devotion to everything right; *and during the last war which the United States waged against England, none were more ardent in their patriotism, none more ready to carry aid wherever it was needed, and none more active in laboring, even with their hands, in the construction of whatever was requisite for the defence of the city; so that the Protestants were compelled to acknowledge that they were excellent citizens no less than upright and honorable men.* Division then ceased; mutual relations of esteem and respect were established; and M. de Cheverus was thus enabled to give the following reply to an interrogatory from the holy see in reference to the state of his mission. "In this place where a few years ago the Catholic Church was the object of execration, the name of a priest held in horror, we are now esteemed and loved, thought of kindly, and kindly treated."

Who, after reading these eloquent passages and having candidly reflected on these patriotic doctrines, and their practical application,

particularly mentioned in those portions which we have italicised, will presume to call in question the principles and acts of American Catholics, when they have found such sincere and powerful exponents of the true and orthodox doctrines of their Church, as Archbishop Carroll, and Cardinal de Cheverus?

"So brilliant a reputation," continues our biographer, "could not remain enclosed within the precincts of Boston. Archbishop Carroll, informed of his talents and virtues, thought that a priest of so much merit, ought not to continue in a secondary place, and that he was worthy of being invested with the charge of a more important church. In consequence he wrote to him, offering him the pastorship of the church of St. Mary, at Philadelphia. Honorable as was the letter to M. de Cheverus, it yet gave him pain. He could not brook the idea of leaving his excellent friend, M. Matignon, who had called him from England, and whom he venerated as a father; and thanking Mr. Carroll for this testimonial of his confidence, he begged his permission to remain where he was. A request which could not be refused."

M. de Cheverus, having received letters

from the king of France, and his friends and former parishioners, urging his return, M. Dubourg goes on to say—"Whilst he was thus agitated by conflicting feelings, he received on the 9th of April, 1803, a letter from Archbishop Carroll, who having learned how much danger there was of losing so efficient a coadjutor, wrote to beseech him not to abandon his post. The prelate, a man of superior intellect, as well as virtue, worthy of the first ages of the Church, spread before him, with great force, all the reasons fitted to detain him, and finished by declaring his conviction that it was the will of God he should remain. M. de Cheverus whose humility prompted him to follow his own inclinations, no sooner read this letter than his uncertainty ceased. He thought he saw in it the command of Providence, and that was sufficient for his faith. Instantaneously he offered up to God the sacrifice of his country, and of all the gushing reflections which beckoned him towards it; and on the Sunday of Easter, he announced to his flock that he would remain among them, sharing their good and their evil fortune, and that they should fill the place of those relations whom he gave up for their

sakes. The joy of the Catholics, and indeed of all the inhabitants of Boston, at this intelligence, may be more easily imagined than described. The fear of losing him had thrown them into consternation; the assurance of keeping him filled them with happiness; and to give him a striking proof of their gratitude, they made new and great exertions to finish the church which had so long before been commenced. The building in consequence proceeded with great rapidity; and in four months M. de Cheverus had the satisfaction of seeing the edifice completed, and planting the cross upon its roof. He immediately communicated the fact to Bishop Carroll, through the medium of M. Matignon, and invited him to consecrate the new temple on the 29th of September, the feast of Saint Michael. The bishop at once promised to perform the ceremony. The consecration of the first Catholic church in a city like Boston, was too interesting a circumstance for the faith to permit him to hesitate; and besides, the temptation to pass some days with two ecclesiastics like M. Matignon and M. de Cheverus, was irresistible. He repaired, therefore, to Boston on

the day appointed, and on the 29th September, 1803, consecrated the edifice under the name of the Church of the Holy Cross. The ceremony was magnificent; the temple was decorated with draperies and garlands; the altar covered with rich ornaments, and surrounded by a clergy whose edifying deportment was still more attractive; the crowd was prodigious; Protestants and Catholics, were alike eager to see the ceremony; and M. de Cheverus put the crowning glory to the festival by the discourse which he pronounced. Inspired by the occasion, by the presence of the first pastor of the Church in America, by the numerous concourse of people, he spoke with a warmth, an energy of expression and sentiment which carried the audience away. The bishop could not restrain his emotion, and when the preacher descended from the pulpit, he threw himself upon his neck, shedding tears of joy, and blessing God for having bestowed upon the Church so admirable a servant. On the evening of the ceremony, M. de Cheverus caused the exterior of the edifice to be illuminated with all possible splendor, but with all that taste which he possessed in so ex-

quisite a degree. The inhabitants without distinction, were all delighted with the beauty of the spectacle, congratulated M. de Cheverus, and seemed to share in his happiness. On beholding this scene, Bishop Carroll could not help contrasting what he saw with the state of the Catholic religion in Boston at the period of M. de Cheverus' arrival, and wanted words to express his astonishment and delight.

"Whilst M. de Cheverus was thus prosecuting his holy labors, Providence was preparing for him the honors of the prelacy. Bishop Carroll, who was incessantly occupied with the means of accelerating the progress of the Catholic religion in the United States, had conceived the idea of erecting four new sees, one of which was to be at Boston, and embrace the whole of New England. For this bishopric he had, in the first place, cast his eyes upon the venerable M. Matignon, whose age and learning, and former reputation as a doctor and professor in the Sorbonne, seemed to give him a preference over his more youthful assistant; and he was on the point of sending his recommendations to Rome, when M. Matignon was informed of

his intentions. Alarmed at the intelligence, the excellent abbé hastened to protest against the selection, gave a formal refusal, and proposed his friend M. de Cheverus in his place. The archbishop, who was well acquainted with the merits of the vicar of Boston, had no difficulty in allowing himself to be persuaded, and wrote to Rome accordingly. This letter was favorably received. On the 8th of April, 1808, Pius VII. sent his brief, erecting Baltimore into a metropolitan see, and creating four suffragan bishoprics, at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Bardstown in Kentucky. M. de Cheverus was named for the first; M. Concanney, a Dominican, for the second; M. Egan, a Franciscan, for the third; and M. Flaget, a St. Sulpitian, for the last."

A delay having occurred on the way, in consequence of the death of M. Concanney, who was bearer of the bulls, our biographer continues: "At length the bulls arrived, he (M. de Cheverus) repaired to the seminary at Baltimore, to make preparations for his consecration, and perform the customary retreat. This he did, under the directions of M. Nagot, the superior of the establishment,

an old man of angelic virtue, of the most admirable simplicity of character, and the profoundest humility. On the 1st of November (All-Saints day), 1810, he was consecrated in the Cathedral of Baltimore, by Archbishop Carroll, assisted by his coadjutor, Mr. Neale, and Mr. Egan, Bishop of Philadelphia. On the 4th of the month, the feast of St. Charles, he preached in the same cathedral at the consecration of M. Flaget, Bishop of Bardstown, and pronounced upon the occasion a remarkable discourse, which his modesty alone prevented from appearing in print, its publication having been universally demanded. In it he saluted Mr. Carroll as the Elias of the new law, the father of his clergy, the conductor of the car of Israel in the new world. Pater, mi, pater mi, currus Israel et auriga ejus;' and celebrated the praises of the society of St. Sulpitius, to which M. Flaget belonged, citing the various eulogiums that had been pronounced upon it, at different epochs in the assemblies of the clergy of France, and the phrase which fell from the lips of Fenelon on his bed of death, *at that moment when a man flatters no more*, 'I know

nothing more venerable and more apostolical than the order of St. Sulpitius.' "

It was on the occasion of the consecration of M. Cheverus, as bishop of Boston, that the Rev. Dr. V. Harold, one of the pastors of St. Mary's church in Philadelphia, paid the following beautiful compliment to Archbishop Carroll.

"*Very Rev. Fathers:*—You have not to resort to antiquity for an example of episcopal virtue. That bounteous God, whose manifold blessings overspread this land, whose boundless mercies claim our warmest gratitude, still preserves for your advantage a living encouragement to such virtue, and a fair model for your imitation. You will seek both in your venerable and most reverend prelate; you will find both in the father of the American Church, and under God,—the author of its prosperity. In him you will find that meekness which is the best fruit of the Holy Ghost, which for Christ's sake makes him the servant of all; that richly polished character which none but great minds can receive, nothing but virtue can impart."

Before separating, the five bishops availed

themselves of the occasion to establish certain general regulations for the administration of their churches, amongst which the following are most worthy of notice:—"1. Poor as they are in subjects, for the ecclesiastical state, the bishops declare that they will with pleasure permit their diocesans to enter either the regular or secular orders to which they may deem themselves called. 2. They forbid any translation of the holy scriptures to be inserted in prayer books except that of the Doway Bible. 3. They permit the prayers which precede and follow the essential form in the administration of the sacraments, to be said in the common tongue, with the exception of the mass, which must always be said entirely in Latin; but they forbid the use of any version of those prayers save such as shall be approved by all the bishops of the province. 4. They are unwilling that the vow of perpetual chastity should be allowed out of regular religious associations. 5. They exhort all pastors of souls to combat incessantly in both public and private, all attachment to diversions dangerous to morals, such as balls and plays, and forbid the perusal of books

calculated to weaken faith or corrupt virtue, particularly romances. 6. They forbid all priests to admit to the sacraments those whom they know to belong to the society of freemasons, unless they have obtained from them a promise of ceasing to frequent the lodges, and of openly proclaiming that they are no longer members of the society."

Having thus, by the judicious selection of able and pious men to fill the sees which, at his request and recommendation, the holy father had granted to the Catholic Church of the United States, secured its best interests and prosperity, Archbishop Carroll devoted himself with untiring zeal and energy to the discharge of his multifarious and heavy duties, which his advanced age now rendered doubly onerous, watching with zealous and paternal care over the progress of that religion of which he was truly the founder and apostle in the new world: and winning by his charity, talents and edifying virtues, the veneration and respect of all, without distinction of sect or opinion.

The evening of his long and active life was rendered still more calm and consoling to him, and beautiful to his friends, by the

sweet conviction of the rapid increase and cheering prospects of the Church subject to his jurisdiction, and by the gratifying feeling that its then state of prosperity and promise was mainly owing, under God, to the unexceptionable and judicious administration of his high trust, and to his pious and liberal teaching and example.

The time had now come round for the closing scene of his labors and usefulness. Though age had dealt leniently with him, and a temperate and virtuous life had secured for him a comparatively easy passage to the tomb, and carried him with robust health through fatigue and exposure, yet his cold hand was upon him, and the universal debt of nature was to be paid. Warned of his approaching end, the venerable prelate resigned himself with christian fortitude to the will of God, and confiding in the promises of his Divine Redeemer, which he had endeavored to secure by the offering of a well-spent life, he passed gently to a better world, amid the tears and regrets of his relatives and friends, and of a large and admiring community, on Sunday, the 3d of

December, 1815, in the eightieth year of his age.

The following letter, from one of his relatives, written about a week before this melancholy event, describes feelingly the edifying conduct of the suffering prelate throughout his trial. "My uncle," says the writer, "had a better night than his friends and doctors were apprehensive and afraid he would have, and he has been more composed and in less pain all day, than he was yesterday. These are all favorable symptoms, but the physicians do not think that they ought to shed a gleam of hope upon his recovery. Delusive as they are, however, they are all infinitely consoling to the anxious and solicitous friends, which, it would seem, from being at his house one day, included the whole population of Baltimore, who are constantly calling to inquire about, and to urge for permission to see him. His mind is as vigorous as ever it was, and whenever any person goes to his room, you would be pleased and astonished at his readiness in adapting his conversation and questions to the situation and circumstances of the person introduced. At times he is

not only cheerful, but even gay, and he is never impatient or fretful. After receiving the last sacraments, which were administered in a very solemn manner, all the clergymen and young ecclesiastics of the town attending, he made a beautiful and pathetic address of ten or fifteen minutes to them, in a firm and audible voice, perfectly connected throughout and particularly appropriate to the occasion."

The following interesting notice of his death and character is from the pen of Robert Walsh, Esq., of Philadelphia.

"On the 3d of December, 1815, he departed this life at Baltimore, in the eightieth year of his age. His life was almost at the last ebb, and his surrounding friends were consulting about the manner of his interment. It was understood that there was a book in his library which prescribed the proper ceremonial, and it was ascertained to be in the very chamber in which he then lay. A clergyman went as softly as possible into the chamber in search of it. He did not find it immediately, and the Archbishop heard his footsteps in the room. Without a word having passed, he called to

the clergyman, and told him that he knew what he was looking for; that he would find the book in such a position on a certain shelf; and there it was accordingly found. When we consider that the prelate was, at this moment, fully sensible of his nearness to the tomb, and that the knowledge that his friends were searching for the volume which explained the established mode of burial for archbishops, and other dignitaries of the Church, was above all things calculated to bring fully and strongly to his thoughts the melancholy and gloomy ideas attendant upon so solemn a service, *and those ideas applicable to his own person*, it is impossible to restrain our admiration, not only of the clearness and precision of his memory, *at the age of eighty*, but the sublime tranquillity of his spirit, which discoursed of mortality as if he had passed its limits, and regarded the concerns of this world as if he had already become an inhabitant of the other.

"We may be permitted to pay ourselves an humble and direct tribute to the memory of him whose society we had so often the good fortune to enjoy. No being that it has been our lot to admire, ever inspired us with

so much reverence as Archbishop Carroll. The configuration of his head, his whole mien, bespoke the metropolite. We cannot easily forget the impression which he made, a few years before his death, upon a distinguished literary foreigner, (of Scotland) who conversed with him for half an hour immediately after the celebration of the mass, in his parlor, and had seen the most imposing hierarchs in Great Britain. The visiter seemed, on leaving the apartment, to be strongly moved, and repeatedly exclaimed, 'that indeed is a true archbishop!' The prelate could discourse with him on all the leading affairs and present vicissitudes of the world, with equal elegance and facility, in Latin, Italian and French; with the most enlightened and liberal philosophy; blending dignity with suavity, delicate pleasantry with the grave and comprehensive remark. Much of his correspondence was conducted in those languages; he wrote them not less readily and tersely than his own, and had few equals in his critical knowledge and employment of the latter. He bore his superior faculties and acquirements, his well-improved opportunities of information and

refinement, abroad and at home, his professional rank and his daily honors, we will not say meekly, but so courteously, happily and unaffectedly, that while his general character restrained in others all propensity to indecorum or presumption, his presence added to every one's complacency, and produced a universal sentiment of earnest kindness towards the truly amiable and truly exalted companion and instructor. He mingled often with gay society, relished the festivities of polished life, and the familiar intercourse of both clergy and laity of the Protestant denominations; and it was this expansion of his nature and the simplicity of his spirit and carriage, at his elevated station and the sanctity of his way, that drew to his funeral a greater concourse, comprising more real mourners, than had ever been witnessed in Baltimore, on a similar occasion, filled the streets and windows with sympathising spectators, and produced as vivid a sensation in the whole body of Catholics throughout the union, as if each congregation or individual had lost the dearest of immediate pastors or friends.

"He was wholly free from guile, uniformly

frank, generous and placable; he reprobated all intolerance, and when accused, in the newspapers, of having in a pastoral letter 'excluded from the honorable appellation of christians all that were not within the pale of his Church,' he answered by the same channel, 'if such a passage can be pointed out, he (the bishop) will be the first to condemn it; since so far from embracing this opinion as an article of his faith, he holds the doctrine directly contrary to be that of his Church, which he and all other Catholics have constantly maintained in opposition to the tenets of some pretended Reformers.'

"The archbishop's patriotism was as decided as his piety. He ranked and voted with the federal party; yet he entertained no predilection for Great Britain or her government. He loved republicanism; and so far preferred his own country, that if ever he could be excited to impatience or irritated, nothing would have that effect more certainly, than the expression of the slightest preference, by any American friend, of foreign institutions or measures. He had joined with heart and judgment, in the revolution; he retained without abatement of confidence

or favor, the cardinal principles and American sympathies and hopes, upon which he then acted."

The papers of the day were replete with expressions of profound sorrow, and eloquent with eulogy of the deceased prelate. His loss was indeed one that went to the heart of a large community. The influence of his examples, and the greenness of his memory survive, and the study of his life is pregnant with interest and instruction. His death was, as his life, edifying and consoling, for none of the many who crowded weeping round his couch, when the immortal spirit of the good and just minister of God winged its flight to the fruition of its hopes and aspirations, but envied so calm and pious a conclusion of a long and honorable career, and left the solemn scene chastened and improved.

The following extracts from contemporaneous journals will afford some idea of the character of the archbishop, and of the public grief on this melancholy occasion.

"The closing ceremonies with which the body of the late Archbishop Carroll was entombed on Tuesday, brought together a greater crowd than we have witnessed on a

similar occasion. The great, and the rich, and the poor, and the lowly, assembled to pay the last tribute of respect to the memory of this good and illustrious prelate. The chapel which has been so long cherished by his fostering care, was crowded at an early hour, and the multitude, who assembled without, seemed rather to indicate that some great public ceremony was to be performed, or some national calamity to be deplored.

"The corpse of the venerable archbishop, which had laid in state since the preceding Sunday, was now enclosed in the coffin, surmounted by his mitre and pastoral crozier, and surrounded by those emblems which unite the fancy with the heart in solemn devotion. After the celebration of high mass, the procession moved through Saratoga and Franklin streets to the chapel of the seminary, which was designated as the place of interment. We have never witnessed a funeral procession where so many of eminent respectability and standing among us, followed the train of mourners. Distinctions of ranks, of wealth, of religious opinion, were laid aside in the great testimony of respect to the memory of the man. Besides the numerous crowd

that filled the procession, the windows were thronged with spectators. The funeral service for the dead was performed at the chapel of the seminary, and the mind already penetrated with regret and deep sorrow, felt the effect of those religious ceremonies, which performed in the same manner and chanted in the same language and tone of voice, through succeeding ages, bring together the remotest periods of eighteen hundred years, and present to the mind some faint image of eternal duration.

"The deep tones of the organ, and the solemn chants of the choristers, seemed to the excited feeling not to belong to this world, but to be the welcome of good spirits who had gone before, and now solemnly saluted him who descended through the tomb to the bar of eternal justice, to receive the reward apportioned to a good and faithful servant.

"According to the particular disposition of every one, we heard the venerable archbishop praised and lamented. The extent of his knowledge and the enlargement of his mind, fastened upon the men of liberal science. The liberality of his character, and his chris-

tian charity, endeared him to his Protestant brethren, with whom he dwelt in brotherly love. He was a patriot and loved his native land, nor should Americans forget that his exertions and benedictions as a man, and as a christian prelate, were given to the cause and independence of his country.

"His manners were mild, impressive and urbane. The various stores of knowledge came from his lips with uncommon classical grace and richness, which he gained from a perfect acquaintance with ancient languages and literature. His charities were only bounded by his means, and they fell around him like the dews of heaven, gentle and unseen. To those who stood not in need of the comforts of life, he administered the consolation of his counsel; and the weight of his character and his reputation for erudition and profound good sense, gave an authority to his advice which the proudest scarcely dared to disregard. The veil of mourning which hid the tears of the afflicted, covered many a heart not of his own particular flock, which felt that it lost an inestimable friend.

"The character of Archbishop Carroll seemed indeed to be filled up with wonder-

ful care. He viewed the manners of different nations, saw the courts of kings and the meetings of philosophers, and added the liberality of a true philosopher and the accomplishments of a gentleman, to the apostolic dignity of his calling. Temptation drew forth the purity of his virtue, and like Shadrach, he walked erect in the flames. He early marked the rise of the baneful meteor of French philosophy. But he gathered his spiritual children under his wings, and protected them in security. He was permitted to witness a great revival of religion, and in the abundant prosperity of his particular church, to reap the harvest of his toil, and labor of his life.

"When he was called to receive the reward of his many virtues, the excellence of his character shone forth with fresher lustre, as he gradually sunk, like the sun, in mellowed splendor. So death, as if fearfully, attacked him with slow and cautious approaches. The paralysis, and consequent mortification of the lower extremities, was complete before his icy touch ventured to chill the heart, and even until the last moment the noble faculties of the mind retained

their pristine vigor. He enquired if a conveyance was prepared to take away his sister, and weeping connexions: told them the scene was about to close, and requested them to take rest and nourishment. He gave them his benediction, turned his head aside, and expired. His countenance retained in death the benignant expression of life. His piety grew warmer as life closed, and the fire of religious hope, was elevated almost to enthusiasm. 'Sir,' he said to an eminent Protestant divine, who observed that his hopes were now fixed on another world,—'sir, my hopes have always been fixed on the cross of Christ.'

"Yet humility tempered his confidence, and while a numerous circle surrounding his bed of death, were transported with veneration at the moral sublimity of his last moments, and his joyous expectation of a speedy release, he called to his friend and associate to read to him the 'Miserere me Deus,'—Have mercy on me, O Lord! Reversing the wish of Vespasian, he desired, were it practicable, to be placed on the floor, so that he might expire in the posture of the deepest humility, as a christian martyr,

and an humble suppliant to an interceding Saviour.

"How do the boasted glories of philosophers fade before the death of such a man! Socrates died with a cheerless and unknown futurity before him. Cato's indignant son spurned the yoke of imperial Cæsar, and Seneca opened his veins, and calmly discoursed of philosophy as life ebbed with the purple tide; but it was not theirs to know the hope of a christian, that hope which springs from a life of virtue and a pious soul, and which changes the tomb into the triumphal arch, through which the pilgrim passes into joyful eternity."

Another Baltimore paper indulges in the following beautiful and glowing tribute to the memory of the deceased prelate.

"His manners and deportment," says the writer, "in private life, were a model of clerical character, dignified, yet simple; pious, but not austere. This secured him the affectionate attachment of his friends and the respect of all.

"In him religion assumed its most attractive and amiable form, and his character conciliated for the body over which he pre-

sided, respect and consideration, from the liberal, the enlightened of all ranks and denominations; for they saw that his life accorded with the benign doctrines of that religion which he professed.

"The members of his own church, to whom he was in truth a guide and a father, who daily witnessed the kindness, the beneficence, and the tenderness of his heart, who in the purity of his doctrines and precepts, saw the purity of his own unsullied character, who saw him on his death-bed, with the meekness, the patience and the cheerfulness of a saint and martyr, view the sure and rapid approaches of his own dissolution, concerned not for himself, but anxious only for the welfare of those whom he was so soon to leave, will long remember him with the most profound heart-felt grief, gratitude and veneration.

> "He taught us how to live, and ah! too high
> The price of knowledge, taught us how to die."

"Death, the terrors of which he had so often dispelled from the minds of others, had no powers to disturb his serene and tranquil soul—but long will his bereaved

and disconsolate flock mourn the loss of him who was the succor and support of the wretched, who, when this world could afford them nothing on which to lean, turned to him for consolation as their spiritual father.

"Long will the poor mourn for one who always relieved their wants to the utmost extent of his means, and even extended his care of them beyond the bound of his own existence. They will long weep for him who watched and wept, who prayed and felt for all.

"Those helpless orphan children, to whom he was indeed a father, and who flocked around him dying, to receive his last advice and blessing, may well weep, for their loss is irreparable.

"His Church may well mourn, for her loss is incalculable."

APPENDIX.

JOURNAL OF A TOUR IN COMPANY WITH THE HON. MR. (AFTERWARDS LORD) STOURTON. BY THE REV. J. CARROLL.

THE province of Alsace, one of the most fertile in Europe, after having been for many years in the possession of the house of Austria, was ceded to France by the treaty of Munster, in the year 1648. As the government exercised by the Austrian family was subject to several restrictions, on account of the privileges claimed by the inhabitants, so the cession of it to France met with many difficulties. Besides Strasbourg, which was not comprehended in the treaty of cession, there were ten imperial towns governed by their own magistrates, and immediately subject to the empire. One of these was Colmar. These towns, as well as the dukes of Wurtemberg, Deux Ponts, and others, who had fiefs or possessions in Alsace, immediately relevant of the empire, insisted that the house of Austria could not transfer the

sovereignty of the whole province, since it had itself never been possessed of it. They demanded that the imperial towns, their districts, and the above mentioned fiefs should retain their privileges and relevancy of the empire. The matter was left in a kind of ambiguity at the conclusion of the peace; but France being put in possession of the province, would not allow any favor to these pretensions, nor admit there was any ambiguity in the treaty; and Strasbourg being surrendered to France in 1681, the full and entire sovereignty was confirmed to that crown by the treaty of Reswick. It still however retains some of its former usages. The Roman law is followed in the courts of judicature; even where it is contrary to the ordinances of the kings of France, if you except some few which existed since the cession of Alsace and registered in the provincial court of judicature.

The court held at Colmar is called, *le Conseil Souverain d'Alsace*, and differs from the different parliaments of the kingdom. It consists of a first and second president, and of twenty-four judges, called conseillers. They are divided into two chambers, each

presided by a president. There are besides an attorney and two advocates general. The attorney general (procureur general) has very great authority in the province. He has an inspection over every part, is charged to prosecute all breaches of the peace, to inform of all abuses, to receive and lay before the conseil all complaints, to discharge the king's trust of guardianship of orphans, &c.

The counsellors sit in the first and second chambers, annually, by rotation; but the first president and dean of the council always remain, the former in the first chamber and the latter in the other. They sit every day, Sundays and holidays excepted. Three days in the week, each chamber gives audience, that is, hears and determines causes by the pleadings of the lawyers, whilst the other judges those matters which are discussed in writing. In all causes, which any wise affect the king, or where minors, corporations, &c. are concerned, after hearing the arguments of the respective lawyers, one of the advocates general resumes what has been urged on each side, delivers and enforces his opinion on the matter, and pro-

poses it to be adopted by the court. When the advocate general is a man of much experience or considerable abilities, his opinion has great weight, but at present neither of them, any more than the attorney general, enjoys much reputation for knowledge.

This may appear extraordinary to an Englishman, since with us it is a certain mark of great eminence in the law to be raised to the rank of king's council. But this surprise will vanish, when it is considered that the charges of judicature in France are considered saleable; and that they are transmitted as an inheritance from father to son, dependently on some trifling duty on their passing from one to another. The money delivered for a charge is not so properly alienated, as placed out at interest; originally the king paid four or five per cent, but at present the charges are very irregular. When the charges were fixed, those of judge or counsellor were rated at ten or twelve thousand livres, and the king received no more for them. But at present they are valued at twenty-four thousand livres, and sometimes sold for more. They are considered as a patrimonial fund, may be mort-

gaged, or given in fortune to a daughter. It is said that many of those in Alsace are loaned to the Jews, who swarm throughout the province.

An inconvenience arising from the sale of offices is, that the judges in general are not the most proper to determine matters of law and equity. A young man, who has fortune enough, need but spend a few months at the university of Strasbourg, take his degree of licentiate, which is granted without difficulty, present himself at the bar of Colmar, to be admitted advocate, and he is instantly qualified to be a counsellor. The venality introduced by Louis XII., Francis I., and the succeeding kings of France, occasioned this great abuse, which calls aloud for redress.

When the king sends to the council any new ordinance to be published, or when any regulation of police concerning the province is to be made, the two chambers are assembled together, and every thing is determined by the majority of votes.

Strasbourg retained many privileges, when it submitted to France. The magistracy can determine finally and without appeal, all suits not exceeding a certain value, and

is, I am told, the only town under the crown of France, where the intervention of the royal judges is not necessary to condemn a criminal to death. The free exercise of religion is allowed to Lutherans in the greatest part of the Province. The town magistracy and all municipal employments of Strasbourg, Colmar, &c., are divided between them and the Catholics. But the latter only are admitted to exercise any function whatever in the supreme council, and in general all the king's officers are of the reigning religion. The number of Lutherans has encreased considerably since their subjection to France, though they enjoyed great credit during the administration of the Duke of Choisel, and in contested points had generally more influence than the Catholics. They are said to be secretly very averse to the French government, and firmly attached to the house of Austria, or rather to the empire. If they do not reconcile themselves with the Church, it does not proceed from any great zeal for their own tenets; they are mostly latitudinarians in religion, but bred up in a strong aversion to Catholicity.

The inhabitants are industrious and gene-

rally live comfortably. Property is very much diffused, children inheriting of their parents in equal shares. There is scarce a fortune in Alsace exceeding thirty thousand livres per annum, except the great estates possessed by the Bishop of Strasbourg, and some sovereign princes of Germany, who have fiefs in this province. Most of the counsellors of Colmar are poor, and he is thought to be in good circumstances, who has four or five thousand livres per annum, which few of them are possessed of. Nothwithstanding this, and the low birth of many amongst them, they affect to be haughty and supercilious. The general character of the people is want of courtesy and affability. The men and women of fashion dress after the French mode; but the women of inferior rank, and most of the Lutherans plait their hair in ringlets upon their heads.

The entire province is amazingly fertile, and one of the most agreeable a spectator can behold. It is separated in its whole length from Lorraine by a chain of mountains, which are covered with firs. A beautiful plain about five leagues broad extends quite to the Rhine. The plain is watered

by several rivers springing from the mountains; it produces amazing crops of all kinds of grain, and the sides of the mountains, as well as some parts of the plain, are covered with vineyards, which yield an agreeable table wine. The taste of it resembles that of Moselle. Grain and wine are the chief articles of exportation, great quantities of both being sent into Switzerland. We were in Colmar after two different crops, and three or four very bad vintages, and too large a quantity of corn had been exported. The price of wheat at a medium was twenty-six livres the sack, weighing one hundred and seventy pounds, and of the middle sort of wine, six sous the bottle. The roads through the whole province are excellent, and kept in perfect repair. The inspection over them belongs to the intendant, who resides at Strasbourg, and has great authority. He is properly the person of confidence of the court; the detail and levy of taxes is committed to his care; the municipal officers of the towns must be approved, and in effect, appointed by him; all secret orders of the court are transmitted to him, and he is entrusted with their execution. The method

of keeping the roads in repair is this: Each town and village, through which they pass, has a certain number of roads allotted to its care, and the inhabitants choose the season in which they are least employed in agriculture to make the necessary reparations. This dispenses them from the necessity of turnpikes.

There are no manufactures of consequence in the province; great quantities of cloth are imported from Abbeville, Sedan and England. These latter are landed at Ostend, and sent from thence to Brussels, whence they are transported in wagons through the Ardennes and Lorraine. I was told likewise that considerable imports of other English manufactures were made clandestinely from Geneva, Switzerland, and the other side of the Rhine, as well into this as the neighboring provinces of Lorraine and Franche Comté. Perhaps our political writers do not know this, when they make the balance of our trade with France so much against us. The country is full of large and well peopled villages, besides the many populous towns; Strasbourg is the chief. The noble Cathedral and its remarkable high

tower is famous through Europe. The bishop has a grand palace, built by Cardinal Rohan, the first of that family who enjoyed this see. Nothing pleased me more than the admirable gilding of the stucco work of the ceilings. The bishop has another still more magnificent palace, though not entirely built, at Taverne, about nine leagues from Strasbourg. Adjoining to it are large gardens finely planted, and in front of the palace a canal two leagues long, terminated by a well built village. It has a fine effect to the eye though it would in my opinion be more agreeable, if it were serpentine. On both sides of the canal is a fine walk shaded with trees.

The military government of the province is under a marshal of France, who resides at Strasbourg, where there is generally a garrison of ten thousand men. There are many strong places in the province; in Upper Alsace, Befort, Huninghen and New Brisach, on the Rhine; Schlestat near the centre of the province, Strasbourg, Landan and Fort Louis in Lower Alsace.

The increase of population is so great, that I heard from the rector of a parish, that there had been an augmentation of forty fa-

milies in his village within twenty-five years. I do not suppose this enormous increase to be general throughout the province, and in the above mentioned village it must have been owing to some accidental circumstance which drew strangers thither. But I found in general, on the best information I could obtain, that in time of peace, the inhabitants multiply very fast. When France is at war, the province furnishes an immense number of recruits for the army. It is supposed, that during the last war they amounted to twenty thousand men.

I find however, in the remonstrances presented to the king in the year 1764, by the supreme council of Colmar, heavy complaints of the visible depopulation of the country, and of the bad state of agriculture, which they attribute to enormous taxes, and still more to the abuse committed in levying them. I am inclined to believe there is great exaggeration in these remonstrances; the counsellor, who was charged to draw them up, is said to have had some particular resentments to gratify; and certainly the flourishing state of agriculture in 1770 and 1771, is a proof that it was far from the deplorable condition

in which it was represented in 1764. Much is left to the arbitrary determination of a commissary appointed to fix the quotas of the taxable. For instance, the tax of the vingtieme, or twentieth penny, is raised in such a manner, that it really becomes a fifth or sixth. Innumerable other abuses in raising the king's revenues, are placed in a strong light in the remonstrances, and certainly deserve redress, the more so, as they tend to the king's manifest prejudice. For instance, during the years 1760, 1761, 1762 and 1763, (I could find no materials of a more ancient date) the king's exchequer did not receive two thirds of the revenue raised in Alsace.

The different impositions under the names of *subvention*, *epis du Rhin*, *capitation*, *suplement aux gages*, *abonnement de Courtiers*, *&c.*, *solde de milice*, *pepiniere*, *milices*, *gardes cotes*: 1*st*, 2*d and troisieme vingtieme*, *fourrages*, *fraix communs*, *comptes de communautes et villes*, *dons gratuits*, *impots sur les cuirs*, *les tabacs*, *&c.*, yielded in 1764, *liv.* 3, 899, 540,,12,,8¼, and the king's coffers received no more than 2,177,15,,17,,0.

I cannot be so particular with regard to the province of Lorraine, though we saw a

great part of it. It is much larger than Alsace, I believe nearly double, but not so generally fertile. Great part of it is not fit to bear wheat, but produces oats in plenty. This province for a long series of years enjoyed its own princes, separate in government, and mostly in politics and inclination, from France. In the wars, which for so many years raged between that kingdom and the house of Austria, Lorraine almost always took part with the latter, and when it did not openly, was still viewed with a jealous eye by the former. After the cession of Alsace to Louis XIV., the situation of Lorraine became more critical, as its communication with the empire was rendered extremely difficult. From that time, it was apparent that sooner or later it would fall under the dominion of France. This event took place in the year 1737. Francis, Duke of Lorraine, having married Mary Teresa, daughter of the Emperor Charles, and heiress to the Austrian dominions, found himself under the necessity of making over his paternal dutchy to France: he received as an indemnification the grand dutchy of Tuscany in Italy, which is now

possessed by his second son, Archduke Leopold.

This cession was a terrible heart breaking to the Lorrainers. They had enjoyed a long series of benevolent princes, and especially Leopold, the immediate predecessor of Francis, had been rather the father than a sovereign of his subjects. Indeed, the passage from the dominion of their national princes to that of France, was softened by their first becoming subject to Stanislaus, king of Poland. For it was stipulated in the peace of 1737, that Lorraine should be ceded to this prince during his life, and afterwards devolve to France. Stanislaus undoubtedly had so many benevolent qualities, so much zeal for the interest and happiness of his subjects, that he would have made them entirely easy under his government, if he could have removed the prospect of their future devolution to France, or if any compensation could be made to men of liberal understandings, for transferring them without their consent or concurrence, like so many slaves, from dominion to dominion. He beautified Nancy, their capital, making it one of the finest towns in Europe; he in-

stituted noble foundations for the relief of his subjects, without any detriment to their industry; he encouraged all the fine arts; he propagated by his example and authority, a true spirit of religion, which he knew to be the best foundation of political as well as future happiness. He maintained at the same time a splendid court; and what is most remarkable, performed so many great things with a revenue, which would hardly suffice for the hunting parties of many sovereign princes. As far as he was above meanness, (no prince ever carried into his expenses nobler or more extensive views of public good,) with so strict an economy did he administer his little revenues; and he ought in every age to be held out to princes, as the *Man of Ross* is by our great poet, to private fortune, for an example of what great things may be done by small sums, by a prudent and an active zeal.

This amiable and beneficent prince would have done still more for the prosperity of his subjects, had he been full master of his own actions. But a few years after the cession made to him of Lorraine, he was constrained through his dependence on France, to the

levying and imposing of taxes, and consented to receive a determined amount; I have not now by me some memorials I had on the subject, and do not remember the precise sum; but the consequence of this transaction was that Lorraine became taxed much heavier than it had ever been under its own princes, which circumstance contributed to render their memory dearer. If we may credit those who remember the former government, the difference between the present and past way of life of the farmer and laborer, is enormous; his clothing, his food, every necessary of life, is infinitely worse than heretofore. But these complaints are so much the style of every country, and particularly of elderly people, that I cannot tell what credit they deserve. In some respects, I cannot help thinking the circumstances of this country greatly bettered by its becoming subject to France. As long as it was governed by its own princes, they generally took part with the Austrians, as was intimated before. By this means, Lorraine was almost always exposed to the incursions of the French armies, and their enormous contributions. It was surrounded

by provinces subject to other princes, and thus its imports and exports were liable to impositions which necessarily prevented all growth or extension of trade. The natural productions of the country, particularly the wine-growing in the dutchy of Bar, must necessarily have been a very uncertain revenue, since the vent of it abroad was so precarious, and dependent on the good pleasure of the neighboring states. Whereas, at present, Lorraine having become a French province, is under no other restraint than the rest of the kingdom. The produce of its vines and fields enjoys a free circulation: the ingenuity and industry of its inhabitants find an easy vent for their commodities; and the strong frontiers, with which France is on every side secured against hostile invasions, leave the Lorrainer no other rapine to fear, than that of the merciless publican.

Justice is administered in this province, as in the others of France, by a sovereign court, consisting of a first and another or more presidents, and a number of judges called conseillers. The court or parliament of Lorraine is different, however, in its constitution from the rest in this respect, that

the places are not saleable, but gratuitously bestowed by the governor, as was practised under the ancient dukes of Lorraine. And it may not be improper to inform the reader, of a great amelioration effected in the whole kingdom of France since the above observations were made, namely, the abolition of venality in the offices of judicature. Private animosities between the Dukes of Arguillon and Choiseul, gave occasion to this salutary operation; the latter of these noblemen, to oppress his competitor, drew on him the whole weight of parliamentary persecution, and was not very solicitous of its insulting the royal authority, provided the Duke of Arguillon was made to suffer. But he miscarried in his attempt. The king's patience was at length overcome. Choiseul was disgraced and Monsieur de Maupeon, chancellor of France, had the courage to plan, propose, and with the king's entire concurrence, to suppress all the parliaments of France, and re-establish them, but on a different footing. The sale of places was abolished. When a vacation happens, the parliament is to propose three subjects, who are recommended to be taken from amongst ex-

perienced barristers, and the king is to appoint one of them. The parliament of Metz having been suppressed with the others, it was not replaced by a new creation, but the jurisdiction of the ancient one was united to that of Lorraine, by which means the parliament of Nancy acquired a large addition of business and consequently of influence.

I cannot leave Lorraine without recording some particular institutions of the benevolent Stanislaus. For the encouragement of fine arts, he erected an academy, to which were aggregated men of the best taste in the different branches of literature and the sciences. He founded annual premiums to be bestowed on those who excelled in sculpture, painting, architecture, &c., which besides the certainty of being employed and well paid, enkindled emulation amongst his subjects, and greatly contributed to the perfection of the noble buildings and public monuments which adorn Nancy, viz: the town house, the governor's palace, the brazen statue of Louis XV., the public fountains, the town gates, &c. He provided the academy with noble apartments and an excellent library in the town house. His attention was given to the small-

est as well as the greatest things, and many of the numerous buildings which surround the square of Louis XV., particularly the iron work of the balconies, are finished with a taste and perfection, which the encouragement and understanding of a great prince is used to diffuse throughout all his undertakings.

The mission, as it is called, was another admirable institution of Stanislaus, calculated for the instruction, chiefly, of the country people, the preservation of manners, and consequently of industry amongst them, and for the relief of helpless indigence. With this view, he erected a noble house in one of the suburbs, and endowed it with sufficient revenues for the maintenance of a certain number of Jesuits, who were to be employed during the greatest part of the year, and particularly in the winter months, as being most convenient for the country people, in instructing them and enforcing the obligation and practice of the great christian duties. It was appointed that they should divide the province of Lorraine amongst them, going two and two together, and that no part might be left uninstructed, half the

missioners were German, half French, each allotting to themselves, those districts respectively in which French or German was the ordinary language. It is incredible what advantages accrued from this institution; what abuses, arising greatly from ignorance, extirpated; what good practices introduced, and even what political improvement arose from the amendment and preservation of manners. The royal founder had this establishment so much at heart, that he forgot nothing to insure its success. That the missioners might be no grievance to the parish priests or others, during their excursions, he provided abundantly for the expenses of their journeys and maintenance. Wherever they went they were attended (and this, likewise, was owing to the provident care and princely foundation of Stanislaus) by a physician and apothecary with drugs to be administered gratis amongst the poor people, whom they should find in want of such assistance; and moreover a certain sum was allowed to the missioners to be dispensed in alms in each mission. It may be truly said of this excellent prince, that his mind enjoyed that rare quality of forming great and mature plans

without losing sight of the minute details in carrying them into execution. He used every precaution which human prudence could direct, to perpetuate to future ages this monument of his love for his subjects. But he was scarce in the grave, when the court of Versailles ordered the missioners to evacuate their house, the revenues were applied to other uses, or at least remained under sequestration, and so noble a foundation was at once wholly overturned.

Indeed, the fate, which immediately after Stanislaus' death attended many others of his establishments, is sufficient to convince princes, that the surest way to future remembrance, is to deserve the love of their subjects. The Lorrainers recall to mind their late sovereign with hearts full of gratitude and even tenderness, though the Duke of Choiseul during his ministry ordered many monuments of Stanislaus' magnificence to be destroyed. He gave instructions to this purpose with so much precipitation, that one is apt to think he was actuated by virulence, if the deceased prince could have raised those sentiments in any breast. Count Stainville, the duke's brother, was charged with

the execution of these orders, and was not deficient in his trust. Malgrange, a palace near Nancy, and its fine gardens, were entirely destroyed, and the public was the more offended at the latter, as the old king had established in them some very edifying and popular practices of religion. Two or three other country seats were ruined; and what excited particular indignation, was, that many pictures painted by Stanislaus himself in his hours of relaxation, (for he was a stranger to none of the polite arts,) were allowed to be bought and carried off by a company of Jews. Though father-in-law to the king of France, and so munificent a benefactor of his subjects, no monument is erected to his memory. It cannot be doubted, but the province of Lorraine would gladly contribute to any public testimony of their gratitude, but the leading men who should set such a design in motion, knew the temper of the minister, and were too good courtiers to suggest a measure which they had reason to think would be interpreted as a condemnation of his proceedings. The omission of a mausoleum was the more to be censured, as the spot for erecting it seemed

to be particularly marked out. In the beautiful chapel of Bonsecours, just out of the gates of Nancy, Stanislaus had raised a noble monument to the memory of the queen his consort, and on the opposite side of the chapel a space was left, which was designed for the ashes and mausoleum of the kings. In that of the queen, the connoisseurs in statuary admire a noble medallion in white marble of charity. She is represented in an attitude of the greatest beneficence, accompained by three children, one of whom lies asleep by her side, appearing to have been just relieved by her milk: she is actually giving suck to another, and the third is crying, that his turn is not yet come to get his nourishment.

If on the one hand, the Count de Stainville carried into execution his brother's instructions for destroying many of Stanislaus' works, it must be added, likewise, that with the concurrence of the same person he erected several others for the embellishment of Nancy. The barracks for the soldiery deserve particular mention. They form an immense building of a noble, though unadorned style of architecture. The conveniences for

health, cleanliness and all other purposes, are admirable. The foundations of another grand edifice, designed for the university, were just laid, when I was in Lorraine. The count undertook to fill up the town ditches, and lay them out into grand walks, Nancy for the future not being to be kept as a town of war. The prodigious depth and breadth of the ditches, renders this undertaking truly immense. It was not carried on during my abode there with the same spirit it was begun, and probably the decline of Count Stainville's credit, by the disgrace of his brother, may put it wholly at an end.

From Lorraine and Alsace, we proceeded across the Rhine into the empire. We passed over this river, by the wooden bridge, about three miles distant from Strasbourg. The bridge was formerly defended on the side of the empire by Fort Kehl, which is now quite gone to ruin. France has an easy entrance into Germany, whenever she wishes it. The first state one comes into on this side of the empire is the principality of Baden Baden. The capital town of his dominions is Baden, but the residence of the

Count is at Rastadt, where there is a noble palace, with large gardens laid out in the taste of the country. In my journey from Strasbourg to this place, I was taken ill with a fever and ague, which put it out of my power to get the information of the country which I wished. I observed that part of it which lies towards the Rhine, to be chiefly fit for pasturage and Indian corn; the other side produces a good deal of wheat. The wine growing here, called *vin du marepusat*, is more esteemed than that of Alsace. From Rastadt we proceeded to Carlsruhe, the residence of the Prince of Baden Dourlach. The States of this prince were formerly united with those of Baden Baden, under one sovereign, who was called prince of Baden. But one of the branches of the family becoming Protestant, it was supported by that interest during the long thirty years' war of the empire in the last century; and it was settled in the treaty of Westphalia, that the principality should be so divided, that Baden Baden remain to the Catholic, and Baden Dourlach to the Protestant branch, with a provision, that if either became extinct, the survivor should inherit the

other's dominions. This event took place about two months after my passage through these states, the prince of Baden Baden dying without issue. He was son to the famous General Prince Lewis, of Baden.

My illness continuing upon me, I found myself unable to see or learn the particular state of the Prince of Dourlach's government. I was the more concerned at it, as I was informed that he promoted with indefatigable application the welfare and happiness of his subjects, and that he very well deserved the accession to his fortune which he has now received. I heard in particular, that he provided every parish with an able schoolmaster, who taught the children reading, writing, arithmetic and surveying, without being any charge to the parents. All the children are obliged to frequent the school; and whilst employing their hands in forming the alphabet, they are taught to read and write on such subjects as may ever occur to them. At certain times of the year, their performances are sent to the prince, who with unparalleled zeal and patience examines their improvement in writing or orthography, arithmetic, &c., and rewards

them accordingly; other schools are appointed for instructing girls in things proper for their sex. The prince is repaid for this gratuitous education in the following manner: He keeps about one thousand four hundred soldiers; the young men from eighteen to twenty-four years must be content to serve, if they be judged proper, for a certain term of years, during which they are very well kept and regularly paid. I was just able to walk through the palace of Carlsruhe, which is the prince's chief residence. It is a new and very large building, and some apartments, especially that of the princess, are fitted up with great elegance. The gardens are very large, and some beginnings appear of good taste in laying them out. If the prince continue to make this his principal sojourn, I doubt not but he will improve them much, as his abilities at present are so much greater. Following the course of the Rhine, we came next to Bruchsal, where the bishop and prince of Spire keeps his court. My companion went to see the palace, while my illness kept me abed: he told me it exceeded in the elegance of its taste and furniture those we had already met with on our road.

The situation appeared very advantageous. I observed, in coming into the town, a salt refinery. I imagine there can be few manufactures in these petty states. The consumption would never answer the expense. As they have a constant jealousy, one of the other, they naturally would lay heavy duties upon articles of importation from their neighbors. The people in general in this, as well as in both the principalities of Baden, have a heavy and awkward appearance, to which their dress contributes not a little.

Leaving Bruchsal, we soon entered into the states of the Elector Palatine, and came through Heidelberg to Manheim. The elector keeps a splendid court in this last town, which is seated at the confluence of the Rhine and the Neckar, and strongly fortified. The last elector having received some discontent from the citizens of Heidelberg, removed his court from that city to Manheim, and entirely rebuilt this latter place in a very regular form. The streets are all straight, and most of them terminite at one extremity at the elector's palace. This is an immense and regular building, but not formed on any grand style of architecture, though there are

very rich apartments in it. The furniture of most is extremely costly and elegant. But the chief objects of curiosity are: 1. The gallery of pictures, which comprehends six rooms, though the two first contain nothing remarkable: 2. The collection of natural history, and antiquities: 3. A noble library of about forty thousand volumes: 4. A very magnificent theatre.

The elector is a prince of remarkable good parts, and very well versed in literature. He reads much, and speaks with fluency, besides his own language, Italian, French and English. Being learned himself, he encourages literary merit in others: he has erected an academy of arts and sciences, which, however, is not likely to be of much advantage to the state. The members employed to form the plan and regulations proceeded upon narrow and selfish principles of interest and envy; and under pretence of allowing entire liberty, and excluding all partiality, introduced a system of by-laws, which may prove very detrimental to revealed religion, as well as exclude from the academy the most learned men of the elector's dominions.

Those who were most distinguished for learning and merit, at the time of our passage through the electorate, were Fathers Desbillons, Meyer, and another Jesuit, whose name I do not remember, professor of philosophy at the university of Heidelberg, and Messrs. Maillot and Tchoflin, librarians to the elector. Father Desbillons has applied himself particularly to the study of the Latin classics and the Latin tongue, and is perhaps the most versed in the knowledge of both of any man in Europe. His elegant Latin fables, formed on the model and style of Phœdrus, are a proof of extraordinary improvement in his favorite study. It is a pity that the notes he has added, carry with them an air of pedantry. I heard he was employed in a great work which was eagerly expected by the learned Germans, and was to be entitled the History of the Latin Language. Father Desbillons is a Frenchman, and after the dissolution of the Jesuits in France, was graciously received and protected at Manheim by the elector. The particular library which he has collected, of about eight thousand volumes is remarkable

for the judicious choice and rareness of the books and editions.

Father Meyer's studies are turned wholly on astronomy, of which he is a public electoral professor in the University of Heidelberg. He is fellow of the Royal Society and several other academies. His mensuration of a degree of the meridian is esteemed among the learned. He was called to St. Petersburg, by the Empress of Russia, to observe the last transit of Venus, and had good success. The elector has caused an observatory to be erected at one of his country palaces, and furnished it with the best instruments from England. It is here that Father Meyer makes his observations.

Many schemes have been adopted for improving the natural richness of this state, by the establishment of different manufactures, and some have proved successful, particularly the China manufacture at Frankendahl. I saw several pieces of furniture executed there, which would do honor to Dresden. There are likewise some establishments for cloth, and linen manufactures. The advantages arising from these institutions, and chiefly a well regulated tax on the country,

which is very fertile, would yield a sufficient revenue to the elector, if like most other German princes, he did not keep a court much too splendid for the extent of his states, and, perhaps, a too great number of soldiers. Another large expense to the elector is the public theatre of his palace. He pays the whole charges of actors, music, decorations, wardrobe, &c.; and those who are acquainted with theatrical entertainments, will easily form an idea of the immense sums, that are required to maintain them with splendor and dignity. Particulars pay nothing for going to see them. The consequence of the elector's magnificence is, that the subject is most enormously taxed.

The palatinate very early embraced the reformed religion, which during a long course of years, greatly prevailed in number and power over the Catholics, as the sovereigns espoused the new doctrines. Sometimes Lutheranism had the lead, sometimes Calvanism. But the eldest branch of the palatine line becoming extinct, the electorate devolved to the Duke of Newbourg, a Roman Catholic prince, and he brought an accession to his new state of the dutchy

of Berg. Since that time, the Catholics have become nearly equal, if not superior in number and interest, to either the Lutherans or Calvinists, and their growth will probably continue to be still more considerable. The present elector has no successor, so that his states devolve to the Duke de Deux-Ponts, who likewise, will inherit the electorate of Bavaria, in default of issue from that and the palatine family.

From Manheim, we continued following the course of the Rhine to Cologne, passing through the bishopric of Worms, the electorates of Mentz, Trevers, and Cologne.

I shall say nothing of these countries, except that they produce great quantities of corn and wine. The government is absolute in these, as well as most other states in Germany. Mentz is the first electorate. It is likewise, as well as the two others, an archbishopric; and the archbishop is legate of the holy see throughout Germany. His revenues, however, are not in proportion to his dignity. Those of Trevers are still considerable, and neither they, nor the elector of Cologne, would be able to maintain such splendid courts, if they did not hold other

bishoprics. Thus the present elector of Mentz, is likewise Bishop of Worms; that of Trevers, Bishop of Augsbourg, and that of Cologne, Bishop of Munster.

Having returned back to Manheim, we proceeded from thence, through Swabia to Augsbourg. Though Swabia be in general a plentiful country, chiefly in corn, yet the generality of the inhabitants appear to be extremely wretched. Whether it be owing to the weight of their taxes and abject dependence on their princes, or to the inland situation of the country, which leaves them no opportunity of carrying on foreign trade, I will not pretend to determine. One observation, however, the traveller through this country cannot avoid making, which is the strange contrast between the magnificence and politeness of the court of the Duke of Wurtemberg, which lies on the road, and the uncouthness of the other inhabitants. The dress and manners of the people, are the coarsest and most unseemly one can well imagine; that of the women in particular does not seem to have received the smallest degree of refinement. Their houses are so contrived, that the ground floor serves for a

stable for their cattle; a ladder leads up to that in which the family abides. The filth and stench arising from such a distribution are to be conceived; had the people any ideas of cleanliness, it would be easy to keep their houses sweet and clean. I scarcely passed through a village in Swabia, where the streets were not plentifully watered by a constant stream. There is indeed to be observed in every country, a great difference between the gentry and lower class of people; but in none does this difference strike one so much, as in many parts of Germany; and it is natural to imagine, that it arises there chiefly from the nature of the feudal government. The generality of the inhabitants are under so slavish a dependence, and they are so much accustomed to consider their lords as beings of a superior class, that it is very probable much the greatest part never conceive an idea of the original equality, or of the common rights of mankind. Their sentiments in all likelihood might become more elevated, if the uniform equality of the subjects, one with another, did not stifle all the seeds of mutual emulation. In most other countries there is a regular gradation of

ranks from the prince down to the peasant; but here there seem to be no intermediate condition; and in the whole course of our travels through Swabia, I do not remember to have seen on the road, the house of one subject which bespoke a master elevated above the condition of his fellow-subjects; at least, not till we came into the neighborhood and jurisdiction of the imperial city of Augsbourg.

That part of Swabia which belongs to the Duke of Wurtemberg is almost entirely Protestant, though the reigning duke himself professes the Catholic religion. His brothers are likewise Protestants. As the duke himself has no children, and being separated from his wife, probably never will, his estates devolve to his next brother, Prince Eugenius. The duke is very profuse, and has involved his finances in the utmost confusion. This has been to him a source of much mortification, as his subjects are greatly discontented with his administration; for, notwithstanding his difficult circumstances, he cannot refrain from extravagant expenses in building, hunting, keeping

great bands of musicians and all the innumerable supports of an Italian theatre.

Augsbourg is a large, well built town; it was formerly one of the first trading cities in the world, when Venice was mistress of the entire communications with the Levant and East Indies. The effects brought to Venice were conveyed, by land carriage, to Augsbourg, and from thence spread throughout the whole empire. Even at present, there are great remains of its ancient wealth and industry. Manufactures of goods, silver, steel, and the art of engraving, are still in much credit here. The government is a mixture of democracy and aristocracy. As the religion is partially Catholic and partly Evangelical, the magistracy are equally chosen out of the two professions. The town house is a remarkable building, furnished with some very fine paintings of the Dutch school. The great hall, appropriated to the most solemn occasions, such as the entertainment of the emperor, is one of the finest, both for its size and finishing, in Europe. There are other rooms designed for the assemblies of the magistracy, the different trading companies, &c. My stay was

too short to inform myself of the state of letters.

The road from Augsbourg to Munich, is in general disagreeable, the greatest part of it is through forests of firs, and the land is incapable of improvement by cultivation. One proceeds but a little way from Augsbourg, before entering into the Duke of Bavaria's dominions. The harvest of 1771 was just gotten in, and the inhabitants were beginning to recover themselves from the dreadful famine of the preceding year. Yet still, wretchedness and want were painted in every object; provisions continued to bear a great price, much above the abilities of the poorer class of people. The roads were covered with miserable supplicants; instead of gratifying curiosity with the sight and observation of new countries, it was impossible not to have one's thoughts wholly occupied with the distress of so many fellow-creatures. Even Munich itself, though the capital of the country, and usual residence of a splendid court, appeared sad and gloomy, from the terrible circumstances of the times. The accidental scarcity was aggravated by the load of taxes laid on the

subjects. I found the elector beloved by his people, but his ministers most heartily detested, particularly the Count de Baumgarten, who had the chief direction of affairs, a man of inflexible rigidity, who having gained an ascendant over his sovereign during his youth, continued still to overrule his judgment. This was a real misfortune to the people, as the elector himself is a prince of great goodness, and more than ordinarily humane. The taxes, though weighty of themselves, became still more grievous by the manner in which they were levied. All the duties of exportation and importation were farmed out; and the publicans harassed the people beyond measure, by searches, vexations, law-suits, and other such odious methods. It is indeed true, that the elector is under some kind of necessity of burdening his subjects with a heavy load. His ancestors were remarkable during several generations, for their magnificence and generosity, which perhaps sometimes degenerated into prodigality. Hence they contracted heavy debts, and the present sovereign entertains sentiments of known equity too strict not to consider himself

bound to pay the creditors. His father, the Emperor Charles VII.'s misfortunes contributed to distress still more the public finances. These disorders however, are already greatly remedied by the prudent economy of the reigning prince. He is a lover of the arts and sciences; he has instituted an academy, and given it much public encouragement. He himself cultivates music and some other arts, with great success. His court was not at Munich, when we passed, and circumstances did not allow us to go to the country palace, where it then resided. The town palace is very large, but not a regular building. One of the apartments, consisting of seven or eight large rooms, and called the *green apartment*, is the most elegantly and completely furnished of any I have ever seen. Besides the richness and fine taste of the hangings, gilding, chairs, sofas, stoves, &c., it is adorned with a choice and magnificent collection of the best Italian and Flemish paintings. The theatre, likewise, belonging to the palace, though not very large, is however, finished with the greatest taste, and the machinery for shifting the scenes, &c. is admirable.

The electoral treasury, consisting of gold and silver plate, curiously wrought arms, and curiosities of all kinds, is likewise well worth the observation of a traveller, and hardly to be equalled by any other repository of the same kind. Another object deserving to be seen is the Jesuits' church. The inside architecture in particular, is of the most noble and manly style; the builder was one of those children of genius, who are formed without a painful study of the rules of art. He was a common mason, and yet Italy, perhaps, cannot show so bold a vault as that from end to end, which forms the whole breadth of the church. It was erected by the generosity and piety of William, Duke of Bavaria. This prince, eminent for his prudence in government, as well as his christian virtues, ruled his states with great success, in very difficult times, about the middle of the sixteenth century. He thought himself greatly indebted to the zeal and learning of the Jesuits, for preserving his subjects from the contagion of the spreading religious errors, and through gratitude, as well as in order to perpetuate the same advantage to his people, he built and founded a college

of Jesuits at Munich. After a most prosperous reign, he resigned his government to his son, several years before his death, and retired to a private life which he spent in the constant exercise of christian virtues. He passed several hours a day in the church he had built, and in his last will, ordered his body to be deposited in it, under a plain stone, without even the inscription of his name, in lieu of which, he directed these words, taken out of the book of Job, to be engraved: *Commissa mea pavesco et ante te erubesco, dum veneris judicare; noli me condemnare.* It is but doing justice to the Jesuits of this country to add, that they have perfectly corresponded with the views of their munificent benefactor. Indefatigable in the service of religion, their labors have greatly contributed to preserve it in Bavaria, not only uncorrupted with the pernicicus tenets of the neighboring provinces, but moreover, to render the practical duties of it more generally, and more constantly attended to, than perhaps, in any other country in Europe. The belles lettres, likewise, and sciences are much cultivated by them,

especially the study of physics, history, and mathematics.

I could get no clear state of the elector's revenues, which are considerable. His predecessors used to maintain a much larger body of troops than he has on foot at present. I was told there are not above eight thousand men. It would be well, probably, for the different states of Germany if the other princes followed this example.

Following the road from Munich to Inspruch, we very soon entered into the mountains which communicate with the Alps, and may properly be said to be a part of them. We passed by several lakes, formed at the foot of these mountains. This water is the finest one can see, and they are stocked with great quantities of excellent fish, and some of a peculiar species, to be met with no where else. The pleasing prospect these lakes afford, relieve the traveller, and form an agreeable contrast with the awful sight of impending mountains. The roads from Munich to Tyrol, are kept in bad repair, and in no degree comparable to those, which are made over the Alps, throughout this latter province. The entrance into it on the side

of Bavaria, is defended by fortresses, impregnable more from their situation, than the work of art: the house of Austria, to whom the country of Tyrol belongs, makes it a capital point of politics, to preserve this passage into Italy, in its own hands. Indeed the country appears to be of little other importance to the court of Vienna, besides its serving to connect together its German and Italian states: the barren mountains, which form the whole province, can yield but a small revenue to the sovereign. But the undisputed communication with Italy, of which Austria is hereby possessed, must always give the latter great weight in all transactions relative to the former, or an advantage over France, especially when the latter chances not to be allied with the King of Sardinia. Inspruch, the capital of Tyrol, affords few things remarkable. There is a large palace with gardens much out of repair contiguous to it. The palace used to be the residence of the archduke, governor of the province: it was here the late Emperor Francis I., father of the present, and husband of the empress queen, died suddenly in 1765. He had come with the whole

court of Vienna, to solemnize the marriage of his second son Archduke Leopold, with the Infanta of Spain, and to transfer to him the grand dutchy of Tuscany. The diversions on so solemn an occasion, were scarce begun, when the instantaneous death of the emperor put them to an end. A monument is erected at a small distance out of the town gates, to mark the spot where the Infanta was met by her future consort, and the whole court. On the other side of the town another monument is erected in the form of a triumphal arch, with an inscription, importing that the emperor, empress, &c. made their entrance that way. In the great church of the Franciscans, there is nothing remarkable, besides the monument erected to the memory of the Emperor Maximilian I., on which are engraven bas reliefs, and distributed in different panels, all around the monument.

Continuing to travel through the mountains, we met little remarkable, before we came to Trent. There appears to be a great trade carried on between Germany and the nearest Italian states, as we met immense quantities of wagons, which transport from

Lombardy and the Venetian territory, corn and merchandise into Tyrol. Trent is a small town, of which the bishop is the prince. But his authority is much restrained by the court of Vienna, and must at all times be subservient to its interests. The bishop is chosen by the chapter of the Cathedral: the chapter, however, is generally forced to conform its choice to the dictation of Vienna.

Here the Italian language begins to be spoken. This town is famous for the holding of the last general council. As it was called chiefly to stop the progress of the errors which took their rise in Germany before the middle of the sixteenth century, its situation was judged most convenient for the German and Italian bishops. The great advantage, which the church derived from this assembly, is well known, though it was not so fortunate, as to put an end to the new heresies. The church of St. Mary Major, in which it was held, has nothing particular besides a remarkable fine organ. But the remembrance of that august assembly, which met in it so often, and procured so great services to christianity, made me view it as one of the most awful sanctuaries in the world, and

I could not refrain from expressing my gratitude to the Author of all good.

The mountains now began to decline apace: and proceeding along the Adige, which we had followed from its very source, we passed through Roveredo, a small lively town belonging to Austria, we came at last to Verona. We had now fairly emerged into Italy. It is impossible for the most saturnine constitution not to feel some of that enthusiasm, which the remembrance of great men, and great actions, the remains of arts and sciences, the monuments of sway and magnificence are apt to excite in every cultivated mind.

As at our first entrance into Italy, I could speak but very little Italian, without which the traveller must be much at a loss for proper information, I could not get all those lights which I wished concerning Verona, Mantua and Modena, which lay in our road to Bolonia. I shall therefore reserve what occurs to be said of those places, till I return to visit them.

Bolonia is esteemed the second city of the pope's states; is the residence of a cardinal legate, and was erected into an archbishopric

by Gregory XIII. a native of this town. Till that time, it was suffragan to the see of Ravenna. The archbishop is always a cardinal, and has the title of Prince of the Holy Empire. The city has undergone various revolutions: after the dismembering of the Roman empire, it formed sometimes a separate republic, and sometimes was subject to one or other of the petty princes, who tore Italy to pieces; when their tyranny became intolerable, it called the pope to its assistance, and made him a surrender of sovereignty: afterwards reassumed its independency, and finally submitted again to the holy see, retaining however, several privileges.

It is situated in the fertile and immense plain of Lombardy immediately under the Appenines, which separate that plain from Tuscany. This position renders Bolonia a very agreeable place to dwell in. The hills, which lie on one side, are covered with villas, which command a noble prospect over the populous and cultivated plains, and on the other side, the view of the mountains, one rising over the other, all thickly peopled and full of vineyards, cornfields, &c., afford

an expressible pleasure to the eye. When one beholds the environs of Bolonia, as well as the throng of inhabitants in the town itself, the declamations of many English writers, on the wretched condition of the pope's states, the thinness of the population, the wretched condition of agriculture, appear as false as they are fulsome and tedious. I believe indeed, and may have occasion hereafter to remark, that they respect, chiefly that part of the ecclesiastical states, which is called the campania of Rome; but they use general expressions with so much confidence, that I cannot forbear observing how little credit ought to be given to them. Mr. Addison in particular, after a long enumeration of the perfections, which it were natural to imagine in the pope's government, concludes with saying that it is in fact the most imperfect of all, and the inhabitants infinitely more wretched than in the other states. This is undoubtedly a strange misrepresentation. Without question the pope's subjects are under some disadvantages peculiar to the nature of their government; as their sovereign is generally advanced in years, before he begins to reign, it is seldom he has that spirit

which is necessary to enter upon any vigorous plan for the encouragement of industry and improvement of the natural richness of his dominions, and if now and then, some happy scheme is adopted, it runs great risk of not meeting with the same approbation in a succeeding reign. Thus many advantages proper to republics or hereditary states, are lost to this. Nothwithstanding which, it is a truth most obvious to the traveller's observation, that the pope's subjects, (those at least, who inhabit the Bolognese, Ferrarese, the Romagna, the dutchy of Urbino, and the Marche of Ancona,) appear infinitely more happy, and at their ease, than those of Parma, Modena, and many other parts of Italy, to say nothing of several provinces in France and Germany. If trade do not flourish, (which is often owing to other causes besides want of the prince's encouragement,) at least private property is not exposed to arbitrary encroachments, as elsewhere; and if agriculture be not so improved as in England, much must be imputed to the natural fertility of the country, which makes the farmer more indifferent in cultivating his fields; and much to that invincible indo-

lence which the violent heats produce in the inhabitants. However wise the legislator may be, he cannot always fully counteract the influence of the climate and seasons on the dispositions of the people. It appears to me that the great error of most travellers, in discoursing of the pope's states, arises from a comparative view of their former and present condition. When they behold the remains of ancient magnificence, and reflect on the immense population of former times, their imagination takes fire, and they give way to the popular declamations against priestly government, a monastical life, and the tyranny of Rome. These topics favor their prejudices; their trite and common-place reflections are esteemed profound philosophy; and they give themselves no farther trouble to find out other more general causes of the present decay. These the man of plain sense, without any extraordinary depth of observation, will easily be able to discover. When all the fine arts were carried to so great a perfection in Rome, when the city and its neighborhood swarmed so thick with inhabitants, is all this to be attributed merely to the superior excellency of the ancient, over

the present government, and to the wiser political maxims of heathen Rome? Must its former splendor be owing entirely to former liberty, and the present decay to actual slavery, as superficial or passionate writers and poets often repeat? To overthrow this ungrounded supposition, let it be considered, that the noblest monuments and most perfect works of art, were performed during the reign of the first emperors, that is, during a period of infinitely more unrelenting tyranny, than was ever exercised by the worst of popes: that the population of Rome, its neighborhood, and of Italy in general, was the largest in the reign of Tiberius, and his inhuman successors, when not only private property, but the lives of the best men, were constantly exposed to the arbitrary dictates of a capricious tyrant.

The superiority, therefore, of ancient over modern Rome arose from the same cause, which, though in a much less degree, produces such a difference between London and Paris, and the adjacent country on one hand, and the remote provinces of the respective kingdoms on the other. If the conflux of inhabitants of a single kingdom, is able to

spread such an air of magnificence and amazing population round the capital, can we be surprised at the different appearance of Rome and its environs, at the period when she gave laws to the whole world, and that, when she does not extend her empire over half Italy.

I might mention many other causes of the present decay more prevalent than the indolence of government; not that I deny this latter to have no part in producing the downfall. Abuses there are in every government, and perhaps they are the greatest where the government is mildest.

SERMONS.

The discourses from the pulpit, and the pastoral letters of Archbishop Carroll, were alike distinguished for their unction and classical taste. His voice being naturally feeble, the exertions which he made to be distinctly heard from the pulpit, rendered his elocution less agreeable there than in other situations, requiring less force of lungs. His colloquial powers and resources, were great and rich, and his kind and benignant feelings always prompted him to apply them to the best advantage. There was an irresistible charm and elegance indeed in his conversations, with whomsoever and upon whatsoever subject carried on, that characterised them as of the very first order.

In order to enable the reader to judge himself as to the merits of these sermons, the following are selected from the many preached by the Archbishop, as best adapted for that purpose.

AD MAJOREM DEI GLORIAM.

Moses indeed said: a prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you out of your brethren, like unto me: him you shall hear, according to all things whatsoever he shall speak to you; and it shall be, that every soul that shall not hear that prophet, shall be destroyed from among the people.—*Acts* iii. 22, *et seq.*

HITHERTO the chief object of those religious instructions, which it has been my duty to deliver to you, dear brethren, was to imprint deeply in your minds the principles, and to recommend to your esteem, love and practice, the precepts of christian morality. Little has been said by me, to convince you of the truth of your divine religion; because I hoped and thought that all, or very nearly all of you, not only professed outwardly, but likewise inwardly believed the doctrines of the Christian Catholic Church. With this conviction on my mind, when any deviated unfortunately into the ways of sinfulness, I imputed their transgressions to human frailty, and ungoverned passions, and not to the disastrous lessons of infidelity. But shall I now disclose my fears, and openly express the suspicions laboring in my breast? The last time of discoursing to you from this place, my subject led me to make a few observations on the imperfection of the human

understanding, and its insufficiency to guide us, not only in all points concerning the doctrines and precepts of religion, but even in those which form, as it were, the very elements and first principles of faith and morality. Reflecting farther on that subject, I have thought it advisable and likely to produce many beneficial effects, to treat it more particularly, that you may be more convinced of the imperfections of the human understanding, and the need it has of being informed and enlightened by the splendor of divine revelation. For I cannot dissemble my fears, that many of my hearers are intoxicated with that spirit of presumptive infidelity, which inspires a daring confidence in themselves, and a bold assurance that they need no other direction besides that which their own reason suggests to them. After seeing with anxiety and grief, that the many powerful means employed by God's merciful Providence, (over you) are far from having produced an universal reformation, or begotten an attention so general, and such a solicitude for salvation, as your best interests require; may I not reasonably fear, that the minds of some are poisoned with

error, and have imbibed the doctrines of irreligion, especially when I consider the close alliance subsisting between licentiousness of manners, and a contemptuous disregard for the most sacred institutions, derived mediately or immediately from the revealed word of God; when daring unbelievers by advancing propositions, more blasphemous, if possible, than they are extravagant, assume in society a preponderance and authority, of which they avail themselves, to infuse into others an impious ambition of becoming accomplices in their guilt? Whatever effect these vain and ostentatious enemies of truth and morality may have produced in you, it cannot be amiss to put you on your guard against the shafts of their profaneness and impiety. I therefore in my text address you, in the language adopted by the prince of the apostles, St. Peter, when in the very birth of christianity, he explained to the Jews the evidences of its truth. He reminds them, that their own legislator Moses, bore testimony in favor of Jesus Christ, of whom it was foretold in the law, that he should be endowed with the powers and all means necessary for authenticating his divine com-

mission, to teach and reform mankind, that it should be the duty of all *to hear him in the things, whatever he should speak to them; and that every soul refusing to hear him should be destroyed.* These are momentous points, and highly deserving your utmost attention; for unless you be intimately convinced of the existence of religion, and your obligation to believe it, and submit to its laws, the lessons of morality can have no hold on your hearts. I purpose, therefore, with God's assistance, to prove that divine revelation is necessary to make known to mankind, with sufficient clearness, and establish upon sufficient authority, even some of the first principles of the law of nature, and secondly, that the law of nature, as far as it is discoverable by the powers of human reason alone, leaves us ignorant of, and uncertain in many points of our duty to God, on which our happiness essentially depends. These propositions being proved, the result must be this: if a Divine revelation be necessary for purposes so highly important, to deny that God has favored mankind with it, is an impious denial of his goodness and sincere good will to bestow happiness on his

rational creatures, the works of his own hands. True religion lays a perpetual restraint on every inordinate passion, and inflexibly condemns all injustice, pride, oppression and intemperate sensualities. This is the cause of the opposition it meets with, and of the hatred with which it has been calumniated and insulted in every age and country, by men abandoned to their lusts, and puffed up with pride and a vain conceit of the eminence of their own understandings. Various are their devices to free themselves from the yoke, the restraints and the terrors imposed on them by religion. Sometimes they attempt to discard it altogether by impiously denying the existence of that Supreme Being, who is its only author and object. But the language of these infidels is regarded by the royal prophet, as proceeding not so much from the persuasion of their minds, as the corruption of their hearts, and from the folly and blindness generated by shameful and disorderly lusts and passions. The *fool*, as it is expressed by the royal prophet, *said in his heart, there is no God.*

Other enemies of religion, equally impatient of its control over their haughty minds

and unruly desires, suggest different means of withdrawing themselves from a subjection to its precepts. Instead of denying that we know any thing of God and his perfections, of our obligations to honor him, and of our relative duties to our fellow-creatures, they pretend on the contrary, that we know every thing necessary in these respects, by the exercise alone of those natural faculties and that portion of reason, which are granted to every man; that by employing these, we may learn the few principles, to which they reduce all religion, and which, therefore, is called *natural religion.* Of this they proclaim the sufficiency for all the purposes of worship and morality; they celebrate its praises, and set themselves up for its most zealous advocates and champions; and under this mask, they insinuate the poison of their tenets into incautious minds. For while they extol the merit and dignity of natural religion, their zeal and malicious purpose is, to inculcate a persuasion that any other manifestation of God's being and providence, any other injunctions of his will, are useless and unnecessary, consequently that there is no revealed religion, and that all pretensions

to it are false and interested impositions. After enumerating the few articles comprehended in this all-sufficient religion, *behold*, says one of the principals of this sect (Rousseau) *the only true religion, which is not liable to be perverted by impiety or fanaticism. Besides this, every thing else is foreign to us.*

This is that first capital error against which, with the Divine Assistance, I am to warn you this day.

Allowing then to infidelity more advantages than she has a right to claim, I will suppose for the present (though this will be proved false in the sequel of our enquiries,) that the only principles of knowledge and morality necessary to our happiness are these: that there is a Supreme Being, the arbiter and disposer of all human things, who commands justice, truth and mutual love of one for the other; and that there is a state of existence after this life, in which the Supreme Being will dispense rewards and punishments, according to each man's deserts. Religion cannot surely be reduced into a narnower compass than this, and with respect to the necessity of believing these articles, St. Paul agrees with the enemies of revela-

tion. But they think and assert that these points are sufficiently known and enforced by the natural lights of reason alone; whereas the apostle teaches, and you, my dear brethren, will be convinced, I hope, that unless the additional authority of God's word come in aid of the weakness of our understandings, mankind, in general, connot acquire such a certainty of these fundamental articles of religion, as will be sufficient to insure their obedience and support their hopes.

I am far from deprecating that precious gift of God, human reason; or from asserting, that it must always be involved in error and uncertainty. But it is so liable to be blinded by passion, to be warped by prejudices, to be bewildered by the subtleties and contradictions amongst mankind, that it cannot teach with sufficient evidence, or prescribe with sufficient authority the necessary truths and duties just now enumerated. The proofs of this are to be found in the weaknesses, the passions, and the history of mankind; for though we should grant that some, endowed with superior talents, and favored with the advantages of leisure and education,

are able to discover the existence, unity, power and wisdom of God; his providential superintendence over the works of his creation, and the convincing reasons for believing in a future state of rewards and punishments, yet is it not evident at the same time, that, comparatively speaking, few will be able to investigate these important truths? and consequently that with respect to all others, that is, to the great bulk of mankind, their reason will be a most defective guide? For many things concur to render them incapable of and unfit for that application of mind, without which the very fundamental points of religion and morality, cannot be investigated and understood sufficiently, to command our belief and practice. Many are incapable through bodily indisposition, many more are rendered so by the necessity of providing for the subsistence of their families, and by unavoidable occupations incident to their conditions of life, and have neither time nor opportunity to make those deep researches, without which they must remain ignorant, in a great degree, of the things most needful to be known, respecting God, their own duties, and the end of their

creation. I mention no other obstacles, to prevent the researches and discoveries of the human understanding when left to its own natural powers, besides these, which extend to so large a portion of mankind, as evidently to demonstrate the necessity of other means of information, than those of reason alone. Can any judicious and reflecting mind persuade itself, that the multitude, who have to struggle with these obstacles, whose progress in knowledge must be retarded by them at every step, will be able to discover sufficiently, not only the existence, but the nature and providence of God, and our accountability to him?

A farther proof of the necessity of a superior direction is this: that these comparatively few persons, to whom leisure, education and supereminent talents, are not wanting to explore the essential truths of natural religion, cannot nevertheless succeed in their enquiries, without much and long investigation; during the whole period of which, as their understanding is in a perpetual state of fluctuation, so their moral conduct must be without any invariable rule and direction. For in the first place, even

the brightest and most penetrating geniuses, must meditate long on God's nature and attributes; on the qualities of the human soul; on the powers of our mind; on the differences of virtue and vice, and the future condition of the good and wicked, before they can be fully satisfied (if ever they are satisfied) of the truth of their speculations. In the meantime, that is, during a great part of their lives, they would be floating on the waves of doubt and uncertainty, without sufficient motives to cherish virtue or fly from vice, unless God enlightened them, and by his divine revelation, compensated the imperfections and slow progress of human reason.

Again; no time of life requires to be governed and restrained by fixed and indubitable principles and precepts, so much as that of our youthful years, when all our passions are in a state of ferment, and agitated by the tempests of most boisterous and tumultuous desires. Is this period of our existence adapted to the cool, unbiassed and elaborate enquiries and meditation, necessary to discover and demonstrate the essential truths of natural religion? Experience teaches on the contrary, that however favorable the

season of youth may be to the cultivation of those sciences and those literary pursuits, which please and embellish the imagination, it is nevertheless the most unfit for the study of that sacred morality, that divine philosophy which requires stability of thought and maturity of reflection. To gain their entire belief, and obtain their obedience, truth must be manifested, and come recommended to them by an irrefragable, a much higher authority, and more persuasive influence than the dubious and controverted opinions of men, distrustful themselves, if they be truly learned and modest; or disgustful by their rash confidence, if they be presumptuous. Behold then another convincing proof of the necessity of a Divine revelation, to supply the defects of the mere natural powers of human reason.

To evince more fully this necessity, the best argument which I shall now draw from the imperfection of the human mind, is this: if some, after much investigation, come at length to a demonstration of the first principles of religion and morality, yet they are never able to form any regular and consistent system of either; the reason is,

because they mix and disfigure the truth with many fatal errors, as will be shown not only by the history of the most eminent sages of antiquity, who were not enlightened by the torch of revelation, but like wise by the example of modern unbelievers, who extinguish it in their hearts and vainly undertake to find their way without its direction. St. Paul speaks of such in his first chapter to the Romans, *who from the creation of the world— . . . when they had known God, glorified him, not as God . . . but became vain in their thoughts, and their foolish hearts were darkened . . . . . who changed the truth of God into a lie.*

If any doubts can yet remain on our minds of the necessity of a Divine revelation, these must vanish, when we consider the endless uncertainties, and inconceivable errors of the wisest amongst the ancients, who were not favored with the knowledge of it, and of those most celebrated wits of our own times, who rejected the truths which God in his mercy has displayed before them. To begin with the ancients: Socrates universally esteemed us the wisest of the heathen world, after having discovered by the acuteness of

his mind, and the penetration of his intellectual powers, the existence and many of the perfections of the one, only God, affords us nevertheless a memorable instance of the darkness in which human reason, unassisted by revelation, leaves the mind involved. For this eminent sage, after all his researches into, and discoveries of God's nature and attributes, being at the point of death, had the weakness, and thought it his duty to comply with the popular superstition of his country, and command a sacrifice to one of its false divinities; nor was this all; for after many sublime speculations and discourses on the nature and immortality of the human soul, his very last words are expressive of the greatest uncertainty respecting this very point—I mean a state of future existence; without the firm belief of which, it is evident there can be no religion; none at least to deter us from the commission of vice, or encourage us in the practice of virtue.

If such were the errors and uncertainties of so great a master in the faculty and art of reasoning as Socrates, we can be less surprised that other eminent philosophers of Greece and Rome blended so many grievous

errors with the few religious truths discovered by them; not only speculative but practical errors, pregnant with the greatest corruption of manners. The splendid talents and unrivalled elegance of Plato, could not preserve him from such astonishing blindness of understanding, that he recommended and advocated the practice of the most execrable and unnatural vices; such vices, as every christian, blessed with the light of revelation, not only trembles to commit, but even blushes to hear mentioned.

Let us now turn our eyes from ancient philosophers and sages, to contemplate the infidels of a later date, and those of our own times. Here we shall meet a still more sensible demonstration of the insufficiency of human reason. To evidence this, I will select for your information a few examples from the history and writings of those men whom the tribe of deists venerate as pre-eminent in talents and wisdom. In the first place, it appears evident to the christian, and I may say farther, that if the light of nature alone makes evident any one principle of morality, it is this, that human liberty is necessary to the morality of human actions;

that it is incompatible with the divine justice, to make man accountable and liable to punishment for doing or omitting those things which it is impossible for him to avoid doing or omitting; and to which he is compelled by the necessity of his nature and the circumstances attending him, or by the decrees and ordering of God himself: that if man enjoy no power of self-determination, he cannot be a moral agent, and those things which always have been deemed the greatest enormities, as murders, parricides, incests, would be, in the estimation of right reason, no crimes at all, if he who committed them was compelled by commanding and irresistible necessity. What a dreadful perversion of order, what an inundation of the most horrible excesses would break in upon the world, if these opinions had general prevalence? But fatal as is their tendency, these are the doctrines of many of the most famous modern enemies of revelation. None amongst them have surpassed Hume in subtlety of argument and acuteness of understanding. Yet having discarded revelation, and disdaining to follow any other guide than his own reasoning faculty, he not only asserts

without ambiguity, but employs all his talents to prove, that mankind act continually under the influence of necessity; that they really enjoy no freedom of determination, and that they are always under a delusion, while they imagine themselves to enjoy perfect liberty.

Again, vice in this world is generally so elevated and virtue so depressed; so many are the enjoyments of the wicked, whom no considerations of conscience restrain, and so continual are the self-denials which a sense of duty imposes on the good, that there would be no consolation for the latter, if the belief of a future state and of the immortality of their souls did not support their hopes, and certify to them, that all the seeming disorders and irregularities of this life, would be rectified by a just and righteous God in the life to come. But what do we learn on this important point from modern infidelity? If we consult another of its greatest lights; one, whose brilliant talents have been celebrated with the most exalted encomiums, we find nothing but uncertainty and discouragement respecting a tenet so necessary to morality, so essential to the encouragement

of virtue. This great man's reason could discover no sufficient proof of a future state. Ah! my brethren, who sees not in this acknowledgment the necessity of Divine revelation? Nor does Bolingbroke alone betray the state of uncertainty and doubt in so capital an article. Almost all other advocates for the sufficiency of natural reason, hold the same language. The unbelieving Voltaire, he, whose writings are so widely diffused to the destruction of religion and manners, endeavors continually to raise doubts to obscure the doctrine of immortality. His numerous disciples have caught his spirit, and sometimes lament, with hypocritical concern, that a doctrine so full of comfort, remains so full of doubt; whereas in their hearts they wish nothing so much, as that it may be false, having all to fear from its truth. You remember, my christian brethren, to have read with horror some years ago, a particular account of the deaths of more than twenty of these apostates to anti-christian philosophy, who were sacrificed at the same time to the vengeance of a faction, more powerful and sanguinary than themselves; when they were at the instant

of their execution, when their heads were just ready to be laid under the fatal instrument, instead of disposing themselves for reconciliation with the great judge of mankind, they affected to discuss the reasons for and against a future state, and closed their existence here with expressions of the utmost uncertainty respecting any existence hereafter. Yet, by all accounts, these men had great endowments from nature, and had cultivated them by the study of every human science. After these memorable examples, who will be bold enough to assert the sufficiency of human reason for all the purposes of morality and religion? Indeed, so many evidences have occurred in these our times, not only of the advantages, but absolute necessity of revelation, that the sincere friend of religion feels one comfort amidst all his disasters. He consoles himself with this reflection, that perhaps Divine Providence has permitted some of the first geniuses of the age to pursue without restraint, their own systems and speculations, that we might take instruction from their fatal and monstrous errors, and learn how deeply we are interested in having for our guide in the way of

salvation, a more study rule than the natural lights of the most famed philosophers. To give this lesson was worthy of divine wisdom; especially in an age when infidelity and a contemptuous disregard for the revelation and gospel of Jesus Christ, were laying waste his kingdom on earth, his glorious inheritance, and threatening to extirpate from the world all respect for his law and most holy name. And we may hope that infinite wisdom, drawing good out of evil, will make the delusions themselves of anti-christian skepticism, and the extravagance of its errors, the very means of its total overthrow, by discovering to all men the depth of misery into which we should be plunged without the cheering light of revelation.

However demonstrative of this truth, the examples hitherto adduced are, yet I must beg leave to trespass on your patience, by alleging one more, which places this point, if possible, in a still stronger light. Accustomed, as we are from our infancy, to consider and honor God as the source of goodness and justice, and experiencing many effects of these divine attributes in the providence exercised over ourselves and others, we

naturally conclude that every human creature must confess, that justice and goodness are inseparable from the Supreme Being; and that we need consult no other light than natural reason, to be firmly convinced of it, and certainly without a firm persuasion that God is possessed of these perfections, the whole race of mankind would be exposed to the most outrageous violence, all peace would be banished, all confidence destroyed, and life itself, instead of being a blessing, would be our most grievous misfortune. All this, notwithstanding, if we turn to those luminaries of the modern world, who are said to have diffused a splendor over the present age, greater than ever enlightened any other, do we find that their writings illustrate this fundamental doctrine of morality, this consolatory truth, the great Master and Lord of the universe, is infinitely *good*, and infinitely *just?* No, my christian brethren, I am sure that you will hear me with astonishment. Almost all these famed philosophers spread doubts and uncertainty respecting this subject, and employ the subtlety of their understandings, to prove that there is no sufficient evidence of wisdom and jus-

tice appertaining to the All-powerful God. This they expressly teach, and make this doctrine the basis of many other impious opinions, tending to remove every barrier against vice, and to damp all ardor for improvement, or perseverance in virtue. After exhibiting these almost incredible and pernicious errors of the great leaders in the cause of infidelity, I need insist no farther on the manifest insufficiency of reason alone, to teach us all the necessary points of even the law and religion of nature.

From the observations already made, may I not hope, that you both feel, and will testify the most sincere gratitude and reverence to that Divine Person, *who enlighteneth every man coming into this world*? (John i. 9) who has spread the effulgence of revelation over the face of the earth, and has not left us to grope in darkness, or afforded only the dim light of reason to search into the ways of truth and life, *but the grace of God, our Saviour, has appeared to all men, instructing us, that renouncing impiety and worldly desires, we should live soberly, and piously, and justly in this world, waiting for the blessed hope, and coming of the glory of the great*

God, and our Saviour, Jesus Christ. Titus ii. 7, *et seq.* With this impression on your minds, you will not only be prepared to resist the insidious and poisonous lessons of infidelity, but you will even refuse to hear them. Expose not yourselves to the artful seduction of books destined to weaken and extinguish your faith. Be not misled by that miserable sophistry, which pretends that none should be afraid of reading works, however hostile to religion, that to be convinced of its truth, they should know the objections raised against it. What? is there no other way of being acquainted with the malignity of poison, but by drinking it up? Are not the evidences of divine revelation so many and convincing, that we may safely and firmly believe it without searching to know whatever pride and licentiousness have devised to oppose it? Let it be your duty to fly from danger, which many of you are not prepared to encounter. Let humility of faith be your shelter and safe-guard. In this most important concern, bear in your mind these words of my text: *it shall be, that every soul which will not hear that Prophet whom the Lord God hath sent, shall be de-*

stroyed from among the people: that is, they who reject his doctrines shall not belong to the chosen race, destined to the possession of an everlasting inheritance of glory. May God vouchsafe to rescue us, at least, from that fatal destruction, and save us in his mercy, through the merits of Jesus Christ. Amen. DEO GRATIAS.

AD MAJOREM DEI GLORIAM.

January 17, 1802.

There was a marriage in Cana of Galilee, and the mother of Jesus was there, and Jesus also was invited.—*John* ii. 1, 2.

A MARRIAGE, honored with the presence of Jesus and Mary, must have been attended with uncommon blessings; and though the gospel gives no further account of the subsequent lives and conduct of the persons whose union was formed with such happy auspices, yet there is every reason to suppose, that the graces bestowed on them by and through Jesus Christ, inspired into their hearts, and preserved ever afterwards those dispositions, which exhibit the excellency and perfection of a married state. This,

according to the appointment and direction of Divine Providence, is the general state of mankind ; and therefore it is proper and useful for christians to know and reflect on those points of duty, which previous to, and after their matrimonial union, are necessary to render it acceptable to God, and fortunate to themselves. It is a painful and melancholy consideration, that so many marriages should be followed by such unhappiness, as we all frequently may witness ; and that the closest connection, ordained by heaven, to be formed between two persons, and which therefore should be the cement of their tenderest affections, generates so often the fiercest contentions, reproaches, and envenomed hatred. It would betray a great ignorance of human nature, to say that the universal and sole cause of such misfortunes is an inattention to, and neglect of those important lessons concerning matrimony, which are given in the gospels, and other books of scripture. The natural perversity of tempers, and difference of characters contribute likewise, no doubt, to poison the happiness of a married state; and experience as well as religion, concur in evincing the truth of the doctrine

of the apostle, that though *marriage be honorable* (Heb. 13,) yet it imposes *a yoke and a burden; though it be a great sacrament... in Christ* and the church (Eph. 5,) yet they who receive it, *shall suffer tribulation of the flesh*, (1 Cor. 7); in a word, though it be an institution of God, yet that there is another condition and state of life, more sublime and excellent in its nature, of which our divine Saviour spoke, when he said: *All men receive not this word; but they to whom it is given..... he, who can receive it, let him receive it.*—Matt. xix. 11, 12.

If even common observation did not give sufficient evidence of a painful truth, we might learn from these expressions of holy writ, that the ways of matrimony are not strewed with roses only, as rash and headlong youth often persuade themselves; but that they are likewise beset with thorns and briars, to incommode, and, alas! often grievously to harass those who engage in it. What counsel, my dear brethren, can avail you in this situation? It becomes our ministry to suggest none from this place, but that which collected from the doctrines of eternal wisdom, establishes rules of conduct

for every lawful condition of life. Having these present to my mind, I shall consider you as divided into two classes: one consisting of those, who are in a single state, but contemplate a married one, as that which will form the destiny of their future lives; the other, of those who are engaged in it already. To the first, this discourse will be addressed. Being fully sensible of the delicacy of the subject, I will endeavor, with God's help, so to treat it, as neither to give offence to the chastest ear, nor derogate from the dignity of the sacred ministry, which I am now called to perform.

The comprehensive wisdom of Almighty God adapts that religion, of which he is the author, and which alone deserves to be dignified by that honorable appellation, to the improvement and perfection of his rational creatures, in all their stages through life, and in the different permanent states and conditions in which they lawfully engage themselves. To view religion in this light, is to place it in one of its sublimest attitudes; diffusing its directions and benefits on the children of men, from their birth into this

world, to their departure for eternity; regenerating them by baptism; fortifying, in the sacrament of confirmation, their faith, and perfecting their infant virtues, by infusing all the gifts of the Holy Ghost; in the Eucharist, nourishing their languishing souls with the bread of angels; repairing their lost innocence and reconciling them anew to heaven, by the sacred and merciful institution of penance; assuaging their anguish, and encouraging their hope in the agonies of sickness, by prayer and the consecrated unction; and finally, sanctifying that union which preserves the perpetuity of human kind, by elevating it to the character and dignity of a sacrament, and becoming a representation of that indissoluble union, which subsists between Christ and his church. Is it possible to furnish a more exalted idea of matrimony, than is thus stirred up in our minds, when we consider this sublime relation which it bears to Christ espoused to his church? Whilst heathens and carnal men view it only with reference to the gratification of their sensual desires; whilst worldly policy only calculates its advantages, relatively to the artificial combinations of civil

society, christianity ennobles the matrimonial union, by annexing to it a religious and most sacred signification; it disengages it, as I may say, from the contagion of being formed merely for the low and grovelling purposes of sensuality, and of carnal wisdom.

It is thus, my dear brethren, that you, who are destined to enter hereafter into a married state, should view the contract which will bind you during life. You are christians; you are Catholic Christians; you profess to be of that religion which teaches that the union formed by matrimony is a sacrament of most sublime signification; that the efficacy annexed to this sacrament is to convey those graces to your souls, which will enable you to bear the trials and fulfil the duties of a married state; that being a sacrament, it requires, as an indispensable condition of receiving it worthily, that your consciences be purified from the guilt of grievous offences at the time when you come to the solemnization of your marriage. On these truths which you profess as a part of your religious creed, are established your obligations respecting the important point of which we now treat; and which, perhaps,

will be seen clearer, and better understood by contrasting them with that conduct which is commonly pursued in the world.

If then we turn our eyes towards the generality of those who design to engage in matrimony, we must acknowledge that three very prevailing abuses present themselves to our view: in the first place, they form their engagements without reflection on, or reference to those purposes, for which marriage was instituted, and raised to such eminent dignity in the church of God: secondly, they form them imprudently, without consulting those persons to whom they should look up for advice and direction; and without those sacred regards to the security of their own faith, or that of the issue, which may be the fruit of their marriage, they use no solicitude to cleanse and preserve their consciences from the contagion and defilement of sin. These defects are directly opposite to their obligations, and tend to render their marriages criminal before God, and sovereignly unhappy for themselves.

I said first, that engagements of matrimony are made generally without any reflection on, or deliberate purpose of referring and or-

daining it to those ends for which it was instituted by eternal wisdom. To follow the impulse of a violent, or a romantic, or a mercenary passion, and to escape from the control and watchfulness of parental authority, are the objects most generally sought for in matrimony—the ends for which it is solicited and embraced. But were these purposes contemplated by Divine Providence in its institution? Let us consult revelation on this head. Soon after the creation of Adam, his Creator made provision for the binding of him in society, that he might enjoy its comforts. *It is not good*, says God, speaking of Adam, *for man to be alone; let us make him a help like to himself.* Gen. ii. 18. Again, in the Book of Tobias, the Holy Ghost proposes to us the example of a marriage conducted in perfect conformity to the will of God; and young Tobias thus expresses his views and holy purpose in contracting his union with the virtuous daughter of Raguel: *Lord*, says he, *thou knowest that not for fleshly lust do I take my sister to wife, but only for the love of posterity, in which thy name may be blessed for ever and evermore.* Tob. viii. 9. Finally, St. Paul in his first

Epistle to the Corinthians, assigns another reason and end to be obtained by marriage; which is, that it may operate as a restraint on unlawful desires and criminal excesses. How delicate, my brethren, is the function of the ministry of the word in these times, when we dare not use, in your presence, the expression of St. Paul himself, upon this subject, without offending that fastidious delicacy, which is often much more punctilious in criticising the language of the pulpit, than they who object to it, are observant of decency in words and actions. *I say*, says the apostle, *to the unmarried, and to the widows, it is good for them, if they so continue even as I:* but if their experience convince them of the need of providing against imminent dangers to their virtue, *let them marry.*

These then are the ends of matrimony, as laid down in the revealed word of God; in the first place to obtain the assistance and consolations derivable from the society of a companion, who being of a correspondent temper and manners, and trained in similar habits, will participate with sensibility and affection, in all the duties and domestic cares; who will assist the other partner to

bear afflictions with patience, and blessings with thankfulness and gratitude; who will not add weight to the unavoidable cares of life, by brutal insult and intemperance, or by the asperity and endless contradictions of an ungovernable temper.

But do considerations of this kind sway your choice of partners for life? On the contrary, does not a blind and unreflecting passion impose continually on the willing credulity of most young persons, who purposely cast a veil over their eyes, that they may not see those defects and vices in the objects of their partiality, which strike every other beholder? Do they not rashly and presumptuously flatter themselves, with the vain hope of working a reform in those on whom the powerful motives of religion, the persuasions of parental tenderness, and the admonitions of friendship made no impression? Blind to every thing else, and only seeing the pleasing outside of the object, with which they are enamored, they never bestow a serious thought on the disparity of temper, the variance of their propensities, the unsuitableness of their manners, and forgetting that they ought to seek in marriage

the assistance and comforts of a virtuous companion, they cast themselves into the power of intemperance, of prodigality, of sordid avarice, of unblushing licentiousness, or the caprices of every irregular emotion, to which the human heart can be a prey. Do marriages so formed deserve to be honored, I say not by the visible presence of Jesus and Mary, as that spoken of in the Gospel, but even by his invisible grace and blessing? Are they worthy of being representations of the union of Christ with his church? Must not unhappiness and vexation be the issue of such marriages? Will not offences against heaven be multiplied in consequence of engagements so indiscreetly, and I may almost add, so wickedly formed?

Another end, for which matrimony was designed, is that which was observed before, is mentioned by the virtuous Tobias, *the love of posterity, in which the name of the Lord may be blessed for ever and evermore.* Whoever loves God, and is penetrated with a grateful sense of his manifold blessings and favors, must wish and rejoice, that thousands and tens of thousands of tongues should proclaim his greatness, and sing forth his praises;

and whoever are disposed to engage in matrimony, while their minds are under this impression of love for, and gratitude to God, will refer their intended union not merely to the purpose of having a posterity to inherit their own names, but to honor the great Creator and Father of mankind; they will resolve to receive the children with which heaven may bless their marriage, as gifts to be rendered back to him from whom they may be received, and offered to be impressed with the character of his adopted children. Thus their natural birth will be a preparation for their regeneration to God through Jesus Christ, in the waters of baptism. How far above and superior to the vulgar and common estimate of marriage, is this view of it, exhibited by our divine religion? and how much is it to be wished, for the happiness of mankind, that it were always considered in this light?

The last in order, as well as the lowest in perfection, of the ends of matrimony, is that of which St. Paul speaks in the passage before cited, and which he addresses to unmarried persons—signifying to them, that they may find in marriage a defence and resource

against the assaults of temptation, and the unsteadiness of their virtue. He calls marriage a remedy for the cure of so grievous a disorder; but he knew too well the excellency and sublime perfection of our religion, to say that this was the only remedy, or that this remedy was necessarily to be used; he knew that these sacraments and graces of Jesus Christ were sufficient, if not to suppress, at least to subdue our passions, and overcome inveterate habits; and therefore, speaking in another place of his own inward conflicts, he says: *Who shall deliver me from the body of this death? The grace of God by Jesus Christ, our Lord* (Rom. vii. 24), and even where he recommends the remedy of marriages as a preservative against sin, he takes care to inform us, that it is granted as an *indulgence*, and not imposed as a *commandment*.—1 Cor. vii. 6. Wherefore, if amongst you, dear brethren, there be any who unfortunately are entangled in criminal habits and connexions; if you have been drawn again into sin, by the prevalence of that empire which sensual passions have gained over you, remember that one of the purposes of the institution of marriage is, to cover you from

the attacks of impure desires; and if you have not courage and resolution enough to fight for a more glorious victory over them, avail yourselves of that resource which marriage offers you.

Having now enumerated the excellent and salutary purposes for which marriage was instituted, it is left to you to consider whether, when you form designs of future alliances and the thoughts of a matrimonial establishment occupy your minds, whether, I say, you keep in your view those ends for which Divine Providence ordained the conjugal union? Do you not rather comtemplate the attainment of other purposes? Do you not propose to deliver yourselves from the control of parental authority, and to possess yourselves of wealth, pre-eminence and sensual gratifications? Are not these alone the objects which your hearts desire?

A second cause, why so many marriages prove unhappy, and are deprived of the blessings promised by God, is the reprehensible and criminal rashness and imprudence with which they are contracted. No event of life entails such lasting consequences, nor is so pregnant with happiness or misery, and

therefore none demands more recourse by prayer to God for direction, or stands more in need of disinterested advice. In the season of youth, the tide of passions runs with the greatest rapidity, and requires the direction of steady experience and the tenderest solicitude. Where will young persons be so sure of finding this assistance as from their parents? I speak at present of the generality of parents, and not of those unnatural murderers of their children's happiness, who are ready to sacrifice it to the demons of interest and ambition. I hope there are none such amongst the hearers to whom I now address myself. But I fear there are, amongst their sons and daughters, some who, with the rash confidence so fatal to their age, engage themselves under solemn promises of marriage without asking the advice they need so much, or obtaining that consent, which it is so much their obligation to solicit. After this first undutiful act of engaging themselves without the knowledge of their parents, they then make advantage of their very undutifulness to extort, not consent, but painful acquiescence. What is too frequently the consequence of these mar-

riages? Reflection succeeds to the first ardors of passion; the hand of time brushes away the mist, which concealed from their eyes those blemishes and stains which were conspicuous to every one else: mutual coldness, disesteem, disrespect, dissension, and finally, hatred, follow each other, and a married state into which the parties entered with so little respect for the laws of God, instead of being attended with happiness, becomes the most miserable condition on earth.

Amongst other concurrent causes of so great misfortunes and lasting depravity, may we not account that which is recorded in the 26th chapter of Genesis, that *Esau married Judith... and Basemath.... and offended the mind of his Father and Mother, Isaac and Rebecca?* Ought you not to keep before your eyes this memorable example of God's severity in punishing filial undutifulness? Should it not deter you from being guilty of the same transgression, lest you likewise become victims of Divine justice, and punished in your posterity through many generations, for having violated the sanctity of marriage by your undutiful conduct in contracting it?

It results from these observations, that it is the duty of young persons, a duty suggested by reason, as well as religion, to consult and take direction from their parents, before they make proposals of marriage or give their unconditional consent to them. It is true the parents have no right to compel the choice of their children; and this, so far from being a prerogative attached to their condition, would be a cruel and unwarrantable exercise of authority; but natural and revealed religion equally teach, that they have a right to advise and object; that their objections should have the greatest weight; and generally speaking, should be definitive against the union which they condemn.

Nor is the authority of the parents only to be consulted on these occasions. The ordinances of religion, the salutary maxims and directions of the Church require your dutiful obedience. It has been mentioned to you already, that two of the purposes for which marriage was instituted, are: first, the consolation and encouragement to be found under the burthens of this life, in the company and assistance of a person, united in disposition

and similar habits of faith and piety towards God: and secondly, the hope of posterity, which may honor their Maker by the docility to his law, and the devout exercises of praise, thankfulness and union, with Christ in the great Eucharistic offering to his eternal Father. Now, to correspond with these designs of Providence, it is ordained by the Church, that its members should choose for their indissoluble companions through life, only such as are united in the profession of the same faith. Under the law of Moses, this was prescribed with the greatest rigor, and the violation of the law punished with the most exemplary severity. In this dispensation of grace under Jesus Christ, to deviate from this rule is to expose your own happiness, as well as that of the children you may have, to the greatest danger. The opposite religious opinions of the father and mother serve to perplex, and finally to make their children indifferent about the tenets or practices of christianity; and being thus indifferent, they fall an easy prey to the artificial sophistry of deists, and finally discard from their minds even the belief of God's moral government. I have spoken so often

and so much against marriages thus contracted, as to render it the less necessary to add more at present, except it be to bear this public testimony against them, and express my deep concern, that we are so often compelled, for fear of greater evils, to lend our ministry to their celebration. If some of them be attended with salutary consequences, many leave us cause for the most poignant sorrow, and almost induce us to repent that we ever concurred in forming them. Finally, another common abuse preceding marriage is, that in the interval between the engagement and celebration of it, little care is taken to preserve or to free their consciences from the burthen and contagion of sin. Need I admonish you, my dear brethren, that the promise of marriage does not exempt you from the obligation of leading chaste lives, and preserving the original integrity of your bodies and minds? that it is still sinful for you to admit deliberately those thoughts or desires, which purity endeavors always to suppress? to hear those conversations which call up the blushes of innocence? or suffer those familiarities, which weaken the delicacy and sensibility of

virtue, and diminish the holy and filial fear of God in your souls? If during those days of danger, which intervene between the promise and its solemnization, you should become less careful of yourselves, less solicitous of offending God, will there not be reason to suspect your preparation for receiving the sacrament of matrimony? As a sacrament of Divine institution, it requires in those who are admitted to it, a conscience purified from the stains of sin, otherwise they would be guilty of a profanation and sacrilege; and where they ought to receive a blessing, and graces to fulfil the obligations of their new state, they will, on the contrary, draw upon themselves the displeasure, and perhaps, alas! the curse of Heaven. From these considerations, let me exhort you to make this christian resolution: before marriage, to seek above all things, to render Heaven propitious to it, not only by avoiding offences against the law of God, but by the exercises of christian penitence to expiate those committed heretofore; to have recourse to the sacraments of forgiveness and the Holy Eucharist, some days previous to marriage; and if any thing should disturb again the peace of your consciences

before the day destined for its celebration, seek a new tranquillity and reconciliation in the tribunal of confession.

May the mercy of God render these instructions profitable to those to whom they were principally addressed, as well as to us all, that we may enjoy both temporal and eternal happiness. D. G.

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